

THE MENACE OF JAPAN



PROFESSOR T. O'CONROY

THE MENACE OF JAPAN

By
T. O'CONROY

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TO INTRODUCE THE AUTHOR

PROFESSOR TAID O'CONROY is, as his name implies, an Irishman by birth ; but, in point of fact, he is a true Cosmopolitan. He has lived in most of the countries of the world and has taught in Denmark, Russia, Turkey and Japan. He admits that he has been prepared for the national outlook in every country that he visited, and has endeavoured to see the other fellow's point of view in each case. He has something to say in favour of Russia under the Soviet rule and he sees China in a kindly light, admiring much, criticising little, and foreseeing the time when, once again, she is united into a great nation. There is, however, one thing that may prevent this, Japan. Fifteen years ago Taid O'Conroy went to Japan. He was prepared for a country of blossoms, for a people who were peaceful and kindly thinking. He had envisaged an ideal land of simple children, as painted by Lafcadio Hearn. In fifteen years he learned otherwise. He found, it is true, that the people, that is the masses, were simple. But he found that the people were not Japan. Japan is now represented by some fifteen men, who are able to guide the thoughts of the masses. He found a country of corruption, vice and cruelty, whose policy has become a menace to the world.

Fourteen years ago Professor O'Conroy married into an aristocratic Japanese family that can trace its line back through many centuries. His marriage was brought about after almost unsurmountable opposition from the lady's relations. He was, at that time, teaching in Keio University in Tokyo, the Oxford of Japan, and his pupils were the rulers of the Empire of to-morrow.

For several years he was in close relation with the Foreign Department of the central police organisation in Tokyo, where he was able to look on matters political and foreign people from the Japanese perspective. During his long stay in the country Professor O'Conroy lived in a circle almost exclusively Japanese. To all outward appearances he adopted their way of living. He became a 100 per cent Shintoist and Japanese. Indeed, even to-day, he has been unable to throw off completely the cloak of Orientalism that he assumed for the purpose of his work. In Japan this gave him entrée to officers' messes, banquets, etc., where wine loosened their tongues and their masks of indifference dropped. It enabled him to study the language, the psychology and the history from an Oriental point of view.

Later Professor O'Conroy held positions in the Imperial Naval Staff College, in night schools and in technical organisations with the sole purpose of obtaining insight into the minds of the different classes. During his vacations he went among the farmers of the country, among the priests and into out-of-the-way parts of the Empire, merely to secure a grasp of the complete range of Japanese life. In contrast to this side of his researches his official position gave him access to the bi-annual Imperial garden-parties and to State functions. His latest investigations were concerning the organisations of the secret societies, who are, to-day, so closely in league with the "Staffs," and who, with them, form the new power that holds the reins of Japan's destiny in its hands.

In short, Professor O'Conroy mixed with all kinds and classes of men and women in Japan. He was able to read every shade of thought that passes in the various types of minds that go to make the Japanese mentality. Mr. A. W. Curtis, who spent over sixty years in Japan and was known throughout that country to all foreigners as the Grand Old Man of Japan, wrote to the author of this book in 1928 as follows :

"KOBE, MIYAMOTO-DORI, 7 CHOME, 2/1.

July 22nd, 1928.

"DEAR MR. CONROY,

"Allow me to say that I feel indebted to you for having given me the opportunity to see your work—unquestionably a work of very high value and importance—which you are writing on Japan. It is my belief that the publication of your work will do much to clear away many of the misleading notions and conceptions that, to-day, pass for trustworthy information on this country.

"Wishing you the best of good fortune, and congratulating you heartily on your masterly analysis of national characteristics and beliefs which I believe are likely to have a far greater effect on international relations than is generally imagined.

"For about the thirty-five years I was Proprietor and Editor of *The Kobe Herald*, I must say that this is the first time I have seen an analysis of forces and factors operative here at all comparable with your work for accuracy and thoroughness.

"Believe me,

Yours very sincerely,

(Signed) ALFRED W. CURTIS."

To those who know their Japan further recommendation is superfluous, but it may be of interest to note that on his way home Professor O'Conroy spent some six months in Geneva studying the League of Nations and the International Labour Office, and that Mr. De Valera, when he was preparing to act as President of the League during its consideration of the policy of Japan in Manchuria, used parts of this book in manuscript form.

This introduction would not be complete without some tribute to Mrs. O'Conroy. This lady, who risked ostracism through her marriage, for fourteen years has

given everything in her power to assist her husband in his work. She has visited places, at the risk of her life, where no foreigner could go. She has obtained information, photographs and documents that would never have appeared in English print without her help. She is, as this is written, waiting in Japan, keeping in touch with the last-minute events of that country, with the sole object of making Professor O'Conroy's book a complete picture. The least that we can do is to give her the highest courtesy title in Japan, and address her in the future as the courageous Mrs. O'Conroy-erai.

THE PUBLISHERS

ERRATUM

The opening of the court case on page 139 refers to the "Ricci" case, pages 47-48, and not to the case of the member of the Imperial Household.

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THE MENACE OF JAPAN

CHAPTER I

A FRAGMENT OF THE HISTORY OF JAPAN

“**N**OW it is our oldest and strongest belief that the Empire of Japan was originally entrusted by Amaterasu-O-Mi-Kami, who is known as the Sun Goddess, to her descendants with the words: ‘My children, in their capacities of Deities, shall rule it.’ This was the origin of the Imperial family. This national belief of old is called ‘Kanagara,’ which is, we believe, peculiar to Japan and will be found nowhere else on earth. The phrase Kanagara means to follow the way of the Gods or to possess in one’s self the way of the Gods. For this reason, or in this sense, the country of Japan, since Heaven and Earth began, has been a monarchy and it will be continued thus for ever and ever. From that remote time when our Imperial ancestor first descended from Heaven and ruled the land, there has been great concord in the Empire, and there has never been any factiousness towards the throne.”

This passage, taken from a lecture delivered by a famous Japanese scholar—Mr. Bunichi Horioka—at a meeting of the Asiatic Society held at the German Embassy in Tokyo in 1928, expresses the firm conviction of every member of the Japanese race. The statement was made in absolute faith by a brilliant Japanese before an audience consisting mainly of Europeans and Americans. There were present the most

critical historians and the most ardent research students of Japanese history from the Western world, and yet it was assumed that they would accept it as literal fact. To a Japanese it is the basis of his religion and the very essence of his faith. To-day this belief is being nourished and treasured and more jealously guarded than at any time in the history of the Empire.

The Western mind will find it hard to understand how the Japanese thinking man can satisfy his conscience with this piece of mythology, especially when it is realised that it is in direct contradiction with the actual facts of the history of the country. It is a matter of record that during their long periods of exclusion from the Throne, lasting over two hundred and fifty years, the Emperors were compelled to work for their living or starve, while an extremely discordant Japan was ruled by the Tokugawa clan of usurpers.

Even Komei Tenno, "Son of Heaven," great-grandfather of the present young Emperor, and last of the Imperial line to be held virtual prisoner by the usurpers, was a ruler in name only. Santaro, a Japanese writer, says of him: "For the loyal subjects of Komei Tenno, their monarch was probably of all others most worthy of a permanent place in the hearts of all future generations. Scores of pitiful anecdotes could be cited to recall the most unfortunate of all lives any Japanese Emperor ever led. How he suffered in mind and body—how he hated to give his beloved sister in marriage to Yedo (a member of the usurping family) and yet was unable to assert his will, and how he loved wine but was too poor to afford any except that of the very watery kind." Thus at a glance it can be seen that the history of Japan has been anything but peaceful even up to fifty years ago, and it would appear that "factiousness towards the throne," to the mind of a Japanese, excludes anything short of the murder of the reigning monarch.

The first Emperor of Japan was Jimmu Tenno, human grandson of Amaterasu-O-Mi-Kami, the Tensho Daijin, or Sun Goddess. She appeared out of space, and, after

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some lapse of time presumably, produced this grandson. All the Emperors are her direct descendants, and the whole Japanese race share the same divine origin with their Imperial family. On this basis they call themselves "the Children of the Gods," and their religion or concept—the word religion, as we understand it, is a forbidden word in Japan when speaking of the national faith—is "the Way of the Gods," or Shinto, "Shin" being the Japanese for "God" and "To" "Way." Japanese historians state that Jimmu Tenno's accession to the throne took place round about 600 B.C., although most modern scholars from the West believe the date to have been at the beginning of the Christian era. The first written records of Japanese history were compiled around A.D. 720, and were known as the Nihon-gi. It is interesting to note that one of the authors was Prince Toneri, founder of a line of writers. Among his descendants was Natsuro, whose *Ryo no gige*, or commentary on the penal code of the ninth century, is the most important work on that period. Sei Shonagon, a sort of lady-in-waiting to the Empress Sadako, was a member of the same family. Her *Makuro no Soshi*, or Pillow Book, an analysed diary dealing with the years from A.D. 991 to A.D. 1000, is probably better known outside Japan than any other historical book on the country. Her grandfather held the position of Court poet, and, others from the same clan owed their official positions to their literary ability. Only tradition and folk-lore tell of the thousand years previous to the Nihon-gi. It is part of the national faith that Tensho Daijin presented the lands of Yamato (Japan) to Jimmu Tenno. Of his mode of living and of his people little is known. Facts gleaned from mythology tell of huts built with reeds, grasses and poles. There was no formed language, no faith with the exception of a species of primitive Shintoism, mingled with stray scraps of, probably, Confucian ethics that had filtered through from China and Korea.

It is known that the islands of Yamato, before the

arrival of Amaterasu-O-Mi-Kami, were inhabited by the Ainu, a hairy people, and the new Emperor's first move was to drive them out of the country in the south. All through Japanese history this race has been persecuted, and to-day the remnants are to be found in the extreme north, the coldest region of the Empire, where they are doomed to extinction. Dr. Batchelor, an Englishman and the greatest authority on the Ainu, claims that the race cannot entirely disappear as their blood is bound to remain in the Japanese people through intermarriage. This, however, cannot save the Ainu, and the number of marriages between the two peoples is now almost negligible. Marriage between a "Child of the Gods" and a foreigner or barbarian, which is the term used when referring to a member of any race other than Japanese, is very strongly discouraged. The man or woman who does so will, inevitably, lose the respect of the community. Within the last decade the eldest son of a Japanese peer, who had married a French lady, was deprived of his title owing to the nationality of his mother.

There seems to have been no art or culture of any description during those first thousand years. The period was primitive, and the manners and customs primitive. It was not until the interregnum of the Regent Shotoku Taishi, who acted for the Empress Suiko and the Crown Prince from A.D. 574 until A.D. 622, that there appears to have been any national feeling of any description. Up to this time even the families forming the Court seem to have been listless and without ambition. Shotoku Taishi must have been a man of great personality. He had a great influence on the race and made his wishes known to the most isolated islands and their people under his authority. He encouraged and fostered culture. Now, for the first time, the upper, privileged classes of society began to write. The Chinese characters, i.e. writing that gave the mind ideas by the form of pictures, sometimes called ideographs or ideograms, were copied from China and from the three

smaller states that now form that long stretch of peninsula called by the Japanese "Chosen," and known to the Western world as Korea. The writing of Chinese ideographs under the influence of the Regent became a polite occupation. Every member of society was compelled by the dictates of fashion to acquire the art, and the growth of the Empire dates from this time. The crude ancient script signs of the Japanese were only saved from oblivion by the need of putting the traditions and mythology on record. This craze for writing developed as the centuries passed, until it became a form of conduct that was scrutinised with great care. It became a sign of class and character. Often in the fiction of Japan some chance view of a lady's handwriting is the forerunner of a romance; and vice versa, if the man has not seen the script of his lady, it is awaited with the greatest anxiety.

Gradually Japanese sounds were given to the Chinese ideographs, until to-day a Japanese scholar will write Kanji (Chinese) in exactly the same way as a Chinaman, but if each were to read the same passage aloud two entirely different languages would be spoken. Thus an educated Japanese can carry on a conversation with a native of China on paper, and yet be unable to speak a word of his language. During this period Buddhism was beginning to make itself felt under the enthusiastic patronage of Shotoku Taishi. Both this religion and the writing of the Chinese had been heard of before the influence of the Regent became felt, but the lethargic people had not been interested, and until his accession the extent of their use had been negligible. Another corner-stone of Japanese culture was laid during his reign, and again with his encouragement. A phonetic syllabary was developed, which was the means of saving Japan from becoming entirely dependent on China for her literature. Founded on the Indian alphabet, it gave written signs to the Japanese sounds that had been associated with the Chinese characters. This syllabary is called I-Ro-Ha, from the three initial letters. It

became an immense help to those who found the real Chinese ideographs too much for them, and it was the means of introducing foreign culture to the Empire in a Japanese guise.

The Regent's reign of activity is often referred to as the Nara period, of which it is really the beginning, and it was at this time that Buddhism began to make real headway within the Empire. A fever for the new religion developed under Shotoku Taishi, and a novel fusion of the two creeds took place. Under the strong rule of the Regent a seemingly impossible blending of Shintoism and Buddhism was forced upon the people. Shinto—the ancient form of ancestor worship with an addition of nature reverence—was made to mingle with the philosophic metaphysics of Indo-Chinese Buddhism. Ultimately the more positive Buddhism completely ingested the Shintoism and it became impossible to tell where the one began and the other ended. This mixture of the two creeds was later known as Ryobu Shinto, and lasted until the restoration of the ancient line of Emperors in 1868, when Imperial edict with a stroke of the pen wiped out a religion that had lasted over a thousand years; and once again the creed of the Gods came back, to absorb more than ever the mind and body of every man who calls himself a Nippon jin, or Japanese.

“ . . . And there never has been any factiousness towards the throne.” And yet from the very first Emperor the history of Japan is full of factions. Two of the earliest were the Fujiwara and the Minamoto, two clans that fought for power until the former won, and made the Emperor their virtual prisoner. From that day until the restoration every group or clan has endeavoured to have the person of the Emperor either in their possession or on their side. It is analogous with the story of the Ark of the Covenant. The possessors of the Ark believed that the Spirit of God was within the Ark. The possession or holding of the Spirit meant the winning of the confidence of the

people, and, in turn, the confidence of the people meant victory for the holders of the Ark. In the same way the body or person of the Emperor of Japan, whether in a palace or hovel, meant the confidence of the peoples of the nation, and this again put the reins of government into the hands of the holders of that body. For this reason usurpers ruled over Japan for the greater part of her history. The Emperors were never allowed to die of want; some of the clans were generous, others forced them to work for their living. The masses—the people—were never aware that their Emperor was a prisoner. They *knew* that he was a divine being, and, for them, that was enough.

It is only natural that strife was the order of the day. Clan fought against clan for the possession of the person of the Emperor. Until 1868 the history of Japan is one long repetition of family feuds. Even the famous two hundred and fifty years of peace under the Tokugawa was merely a peace of strength. In other words, for two and a half centuries the same group managed to hold its own against every other clan. In the provinces that were beyond the reach of the Government each petty chief fought his neighbour. The nearer the provinces were to one another the worse the relations between the two became. Nambu, Shinsu, Tsugaru and Kosshu grew into miniature kingdoms. Customs, manners, even language became different. Their prince-lings often forbade intercourse and marriage between their own and the next province. The natural result followed. The people stagnated. Trade became impossible. The masses were under the petty tyranny of some distant relation of the usurping clan and merely worked to keep alive. When, only sixty years ago, the whole Empire was for the first time thrown open they appeared as groups of foreigners living in the same country. Millions of them were unable to understand the language of their neighbours; the isolation of centuries had almost extinguished national and fellow-feeling. Even to this day there are Japanese who are

unable to follow the language of some of their own countrymen.

In A.D. 989, the Emperor and his Court were being harassed by two men. One was Masakado, a bandit, and the other Sumitomo, a pirate. Between them they ravaged the coasts of the country, especially the richer districts near the capital. At length Sumitomo grew bolder and raided Kyoto. He set fire to it and struck terror into the hearts of the inhabitants. The Kuge, or Gentlemen of the Court, at this point became nervous of their personal safety and "by Divine Order" the Emperor was compelled to grant Sumitomo a peerage. However, this does not appear to have deterred the new lord in any way, and he proceeded to carry on his trade under the very noses of the Court gentlemen, embarrassing them to no small extent with his depredations upon their properties.

It was about this time that the power of the Fujiwara clan began to wane. Court life had softened them, as it was to soften every family of usurpers in turn. There does not appear to have been any violent or sudden change of power, the Fujiwara just disappeared. The next usurper of note was Yoritomo, a soldier of fortune. He took heed of the failure of the Fujiwara and considered it unwise to risk either himself or his men becoming effeminate in the luxury of the life at court. With this view he ordered his army to make a distant village their headquarters. In the meanwhile he closed the capital and, barring it to all visitors, left the Emperor in charge of his representatives. The village chosen by Yoritomo was Komakura, straight across the small peninsula from Yokohama, and his span of control takes its name from this village where his army pitched camp. Strong-willed though he was, this soldier-statesman was unable to keep order throughout the Empire, and fighting and petty strife in the provinces was still the main feature of the history of the period.

Encouraged by Yoritomo, a new sect of Buddhism began to make itself felt at this point. It was destined

to gain the spiritual monopoly of the military caste from one end of Japan to the other. It is known as the sect of Zen, and to-day is being swallowed up by the original Shinto, the very creed that Indo-Chinese Buddhism almost completely obliterated in the centuries following the reign of the Regent Shotoku Taishi. Three other sects that are still active at the present time in the Mahayana world of Buddhism, Shin, Jodo and Nichiren, also made their appearance in the Komakura period, and it may be said that Buddhism reached the peak of its spiritual influence in Japan during this era.

Once again power changed hands and the new group of usurpers came from the family of Hojo. They appear to have been solid economists, at any rate as far as their own clan went, and they allowed no nonsense of any kind. It is probable that they were more successful in collecting taxes than most of their predecessors, and it is possible that this would account for the comparatively short term that this group remained at the head of the affairs of State. They were followed closely by Nobunaga, a soldier of no mean repute. This new statesman was possessed of one peculiar characteristic, which appears to have developed into a mania. He had a deep and profound distrust of monks in any shape or of any creed. This seems to have grown slowly into a fanatical hatred. There is no evidence in history that would account for this passionate anti-clerical emotion in the bosom of Nobunaga, but records do show that he slaughtered every son of Buddha that lived on the holy Mount Hei, just outside the capital of Kyoto. The massacre may lose some of its poignancy when it is stated that these monks were a curiously militant set, especially for men who had accepted the gentle guidance of Buddha for their mode of living. Beneath their robes they wore swords, and as a method of redress for any trivial complaint that had been ignored or refuted by the officials of the capital, they would pour down the hill-side with consistent regularity and paint the capital red with the blood of its unfortunate inhabitants.

Nobunaga became the patron of a small and ugly farmer named Hideyoshi, and, finding his hands full with fighting, he eventually handed over the power of State to him. In reality he deposed the Emperor, and Hideyoshi lost no time in making his presence felt and using every ounce of power that he possessed. This little agricultural Napoleon seems to have considered that as he had replaced the Emperor, the latter's cloak of divine right had also fallen on his shoulders, and he began by endeavouring to instil the fear of God, in the person of himself, into the breasts of all the petty chiefs and princes of the provinces. This worthy attempt to put an end, once and for all, to the frivolous provincial quarrels and to unite the Empire, was not only doomed to failure, but was to be the foundation for the greatest civil war in feudal Japanese history: the war between his own adopted son and his old friend and ally Ieyasu Tokugawa, the head of the clan that usurped the governing power in Japan and held it until the restoration of the Imperial line in 1868.

It was in Hideyoshi's time that Christian missionaries received the first serious check to their firm establishment in Japan. The superstitious ruler from the country distrusted this new religion and it developed into a battle of wits between the cunning Latin and Gallic priests, trained in dialectics, and the little soldier-farmer, brought up on the virile diplomacy of China and Korea in the hard camp of a feudal Japan. The latter won and for the next two hundred and fifty years the Empire became "verboden" to anything that sounded, looked or smelt like Christianity.

The final innings of the Shogun rulers began in the year 1616. It lasted almost exactly two and a half centuries and during that period Japan was closed to the outside world. For almost the whole of that time the Emperors of Japan were kept prisoners, and the long unbroken cycle of feudal rule was only disturbed when the ships of the United States of America dropped anchor in a Japanese bay in 1854 and

demanding that the country be opened to the world for trade.

During those long centuries of fighting and barbarism the economic life and the cultural thought of the people must not be overlooked. Economically Japan is an unfortunate country. Throughout its history, while the few at the head of affairs lived and died in, and in many cases of, super-luxury, millions perished from starvation and disease. Earthquakes and tropical storms played their part. Famine was ever at the door of the poor, and in the old feudal times nearly every person throughout the land was poor. The different provinces were isolated from one another almost completely. No markets existed for trade. The officials of the usurping Governments were unable to collect taxes from, or to force their laws upon, the distant districts. Famine, forced labour and plague came as regularly as the seasons. The nation was almost entirely agricultural. To-day, the Japanese farmer, apart from the women, is the pick of the nation, and yet his lot is little better than it was five hundred years ago. In those times his land belonged to him; to-day he has a new element to deal with, the Kulak or landlord, and he is always within the reach of the tax-collectors. He is expected to feed the nation and to keep his own family and the priests. He must pay for the higher education of the sons of the often illiterate and lazy temple retainers. He has always been and still is the backbone of the nation.

The last of the line of usurpers, the Tokugawa clan Government, gradually became unstable. Luxury, corruption and vice brought about its downfall. Every official position and in every branch of the Government, and in the Army and Navy, was hereditary. Talent outside the family went unrecognised. The conditions throughout the country were almost unbelievable. Of the Court I can do no better than quote Dr. Okabe's *Yedo Jidai Shiron*. Here we read of "the incredible intrigues and petty jealousies of the maze of mistresses and their intriguing entourage within the Grand Court.

How the women even laid traps : greasing the floors, putting orange skins about, causing acute physical action and, thereby, bringing about a miscarriage of the seed of the ruler within the wombs of the favoured inamorates of the moment." Famine, fire, earthquake and flood brought real unrest. Of this era Professor Ikeda in his *History of the Tokugawa Period* says : " The families buried their friends (relations) as usual. But as they had eaten all the food they went out after dark to cut the flesh from the corpses. Later, however, hunger drove them mad. They gathered round the body the moment they heard of the death and devoured the flesh on the spot like Gaki—the hungry demons of hell. Earthquake, fire and flood and other disasters disturbed the increase of the population. But the biggest factor was the abortions and infanticide. . . . All the peasants led a life little better than abandoned cats and dogs. In Saga, in the province of Kyushi, they used to kill every other child no matter whether a boy or a girl. In some villages of the Kai province they fed only three children. The measures taken for the disposal of the other children were so cruel and immoral that I do not like to go into details." *Secrets of Physicians* states : " Those women physicians performed abortions for one and a half ryo (about 3s. 6d.) and the embryos were sent to the Ekoin Temple for burial. If any reader will visit the Ekoin Temple, Ryogoku Bridge, Honjohe, he will find a tombstone with Chinese characters reading Midzukosuka (Embryos' Tomb). ' This tombstone is built on the twenty-eighth day of the fifth month of the fifth year of Kansei 1793 for the spirits of ten thousand embryos buried here. Kenrensha. Zaiyo Ganryu, Twelfth Head Priest of Ekoin Temple.' "

At last Japan realised that some change in the government was essential if she was to be saved. The two hundred and fifty years ended as it had begun, in revolt. The Imperial family was restored. Patriotism flared up and rose to such heights that, curiously enough, the success of the restoration was ultimately due to the

slogan "Away with foreigners." With the restoration, as has been said before, came the return of Shinto. Once more the people were the "Children of the Gods." Foreigners were, again, barbarians. The whole country was thrown open to the peoples of Japan. The provinces became mere counties, the Empire was united and the population increased.

So much for the early history of Japan, the country whose "oldest and strongest belief is called 'Kanagara' . . . which means to follow the way of the Gods or to possess in one's self the way of the Gods. The country, which since Heaven and Earth began, has been a monarchy, where there has always been great concord . . . and never any factiousness towards the throne." It will be well to remember these facts when the lecturing Japanese professor comes to the West and talks of "the Japan of three thousand years ago"; when he refers to the history of his country as "the Arabian Nights story"; when he says, smilingly: "We are the Children of the Gods"; when he talks of their philosophy. Japan had no philosophy until recent years. Her history is the history of the movements of men; of the exploitation of the weak by the strong; of bloodshed, of unutterable cruelty, of famine and disease.

CHAPTER II

JAPANESE MENTALITY

LAFCADIO HEARN, the man who wrote many books on Japan, and who brought her to the notice of the Western world, shortly before he died published *Japan, an Interpretation*. In this, his last book, he says: "Long ago the best and dearest Japanese friend I ever had said to me a little before his death: 'When you find, in four or five years more, that you cannot understand the Japanese at all, then you will begin to know something about them.'"

To begin to understand the Japanese mentality and to penetrate his mind it is absolutely essential to grasp to its uttermost significance this fact: the Japanese are convinced, they are even more than convinced, they *know*, that they are descended from the Gods; and, further, they *know* that they are the only race on earth that can make this claim. "We believe Kanagara is peculiar to Japan and will be found nowhere else on earth," says Professor Horioka. It is part of their creed, it is the faith, the accepted fact of nearly 90,000,000 human beings. It is stronger than any other religion in the world and is the dominating force throughout the whole of the Empire of Japan. From this it follows naturally that a member of any other race in the world is a "barbarian." This faith in their divine right has given them a tremendous, almost unbelievable conceit in themselves. It obtrudes upon every phase in their lives; it has given each individual a quiet, smug self-satisfaction of mind, and in their books and newspapers has reached a point that has become menacing.

Recently an essay, written by two Japanese university graduates, was published, called *Light radiates from Nippon*. It contained nothing but a maudlin repetition of praises of things Japanese. Another author declares : "Japan is peerless in the world because of her boundless patriotism." A third boasts : "Japan is superior to all other nations because she is a country of Gods." A university professor asserts : "Japan is unsurpassed, because of the absolute justice prevailing in it." This, of a land that is more corrupt than any other country in the five continents. "Japan is one large harmonious family," is another remark. "Nippon is unequalled in her excellence by virtue of her ancestor worship." Two years or so ago, *Osaka Mainichi*, "*The Times*" of Japan, came out with : "Japan should subjugate the nations of the East and conquer the world at the point of the bayonet." This last sentence is the essence of thought of the young Japan of to-day. I found such sentiments expressed again and again in essays of my own students written for examinations in the University.

In the schools the sense of patriotism and duty to the divine Emperor is kept alive through the medium of what corresponds to our Officers' Training Corps. Even before the children are old enough to be drilled they are taught the traditional songs of loyalty and the modern songs of war. They sing in chorus and throughout their lives the Government never allows their patriotic fervour to slacken. New festivals are ever being introduced. One of these national holidays by Imperial decree that is celebrated with particular zeal, is for Jimmu Tenno, and yet it was only in the reign of Komei Tenno, great-grandfather of the present Emperor, that Jimmu's mausoleum was "put into repair." For over a century and a half it had not been touched and was in an appalling state of neglect. On the Emperor's birthday his picture or photograph is ceremoniously saluted to the accompaniment of appropriate songs and music. Throughout, the motif of this patriotism is the superiority of Japan over the rest of the world. Ever

since the restoration their divine right to conquer the world has been fostered under the guise of loyalty. In 1930 Mr. Ischikawa, a university professor, told the students of the Third Shinko School in a lecture that "the time is really coming when the centre of world matters will be transferred from occidental to oriental spheres."

One cannot but admire the progress of the Empire since 1868. The people have become united into a mighty nation. They have borrowed every Western device that its civilisation has brought and have adapted themselves to its mechanical industries in the space of fifty years. The danger lies in their mentality. Both mentally and morally the Japanese have stagnated. For over five hundred years conditions in the country remained unaltered. Arnoldus Montanus, in his *Memorable Embassy to the Emperor of Japan*, writing of the sixteenth century, said: "They take delight in cruelty and bloodshed and the like. Revenge is so sweet to them that the first occasion of having any advantage in the very Streets, stealing up close behind the Person, and drawing the Scymiter, if the first stroke fail, the second dispatches him; which done the Assassinater wipes his Sword and Sheathing it, walks away unconcerned, as if a Jest or nothing done. Nay sometimes having no Quarrel in a meer Frolick they will try whether the Edges of the Blades be so to the Sword, and so left weltring in each others Heads." Towards the latter half of the last century Mr. Fukuzawa, founder of the Keio University—the Oxford of Japan—described the conditions in Tokyo in these words: "It was not safe to go out at night. It was not uncommon for ronin to go wandering about looking for someone on whom they could try a new sword." Until his death my wife's grandfather bore the scar of such a warrior's sport stretching the whole length of his spine. Assassinations still play their part in the life of modern Japan. During the last eighteen months there have been reported in the English Press two political murders in Japan. To

my personal knowledge there were, during this short time, nearer two hundred. I do not include ordinary murder in this figure, I am speaking only of political deaths.

Since 1868 every Japanese is nominally born politically free and equal with his neighbour. It is only natural, however, that intellectual freedom, the late product of civilisation, is denied them. Of all men, the members of primitive peoples are the least free intellectually. Their customs, their behaviour, their ideas are fixed rigidly by their traditions. They are compelled to cling to them, not so much by force or fear, as because they are unable to think otherwise. Their conduct is restrained because their minds are fettered ; in the case of the Japanese they are held in bondage by the Government. Up to the end of the last century there were no law courts and no police stations. In the Japan of feudal times there does not seem to have been anything that one may reasonably call national law. This lack of organised laws, the inter-isolation of the clans through fear of spying, and the absolute monopoly of the people of the local districts by the lord of the province, left the masses in the same condition as they had been a thousand years before. Their sudden emancipation in 1868 meant nothing to them. For the first time they were allowed to roam throughout the Empire, to speak to and to marry their own countrymen in the neighbouring islands or province. But it gave the new Government 60,000,000 people whose minds were those of children. 60,000,000 people who had lived from hand to mouth for over fifteen hundred years, who could be moulded, who could be taught to think along any channels ; and the path chosen was patriotism through their own divine origin. This line of thought has been developed until to-day it has reached menacing proportions. It is still being nourished and the fact that Japan has been allowed to do as she wished during the past two years, that she has been allowed to flout the opinion of the whole world in Shanghai and in Manchuria, has only

convinced the great, ignorant mass of the Japanese nation that they are all-powerful. Unless the Powers recognise this fact then Japan will slowly but surely achieve her object. She will subjugate the nations of the East, and she will attempt to conquer the world at the point of the bayonet.

Japan of the feudal age was perhaps the most notable example of a civilised community artificially rendered static. As far as original thought goes this stands for the Empire of to-day. I must confess that during the whole of my sixteen years' teaching in Japan—and those years were passed in a circle almost exclusively Japanese—I never heard one original idea issuing direct from any of my wife's fellow-countrymen. Their conceit in themselves is probably due in some degree to their appalling ignorance of the Western world. Their lack of reasoning power leads them to interpret what they read and what they are told in the most extraordinary manner. Most of the students who came under my supervision were the sons of the higher classes, of the nobility. They were of all ages up to twenty-four and twenty-five, in other words they were the cream of what is regarded in Japan as intelligent youth. Time and time again I have asked my pupils to read a passage from a book—not a translation, but one of their own histories—and have then told the class to ask questions on it. Never have I been able to get more than one question from the whole group. This is not due to shyness; I was not dealing with modest schoolboys in their early teens, but with grown men. They were quite incapable of taking the passage in and reasoning out the contents. Their brains merely absorbed a mental picture of the written page. Metaphors and similes were entirely beyond them, which is curious seeing that Sei Shonagon's diary or Pillow Book has numbers of her own poems crammed with puns and allusions.

I recollect that one of my pupils had been reading a Japanese translation of an English novel and he was

telling me the plot. The translator had come to a scene where a weary traveller, after walking for miles in the sun, had come at last in sight of an inn whose name and sign was the "White Horse." Retranslated into English the passage ran: "As we approached the inn, we saw the inviting white horse hanging out of the window." There was some sort of note explaining this curious English custom. The translator inferred that the animal in question was alive and that it was a sort of symbolical "What's yours?" At considerable length I explained to my pupil the significance of the incident. I went into details of inn names. I mentioned Blue Lions, Red Lions and Dun Cows. My reward came a few days later when two of the youths' friends informed me that their fathers had told them that there weren't such things as blue lions in any part of the world let alone England.

The Japanese as a whole simply will not believe what the foreigner tells of his own country. They follow only their own native writers and the Government takes care that the books read in the schools are those that compare the world of the West very unfavourably with Japan. One such writer claims: "We Japanese have been universally criticised as a people incapable of universal contributions to civilisation and being skilful only in imitating the achievements of other people. Do not the Westerners also take nearly as much from us? That our gains consisted in most cases of conspicuous material objects like bicycles and gramophones and that the Westerners absorbed mostly our spiritual and artistic accomplishments, ought not to decide the balance in favour of either of the parties." The most amazing aspect of the passages I have quoted in this book is that they have all been written by or under the supervision of some person of note, who has had a university education. The quotation above claiming equality for Japan as contributors to civilisation is quite mild in comparison with other pretensions. These claims by the Japanese are fostered and nourished by

the Government, and used as propaganda against the West. It is difficult to believe, but only five years ago the War Ministry awarded a certain Mr. Ninomiya a pair of silver vases for having invented the aeroplane in 1894. Unfortunately they overlooked the fact that Mr. Orville Wright and his brother had anticipated this date by several years. Mr. Chuhachi Ninomiya was a retired soldier and lived near Kobe. The announcement in *The Japan Advertiser* of the award, and praising the recognition by the Government, appeared by a trick of fate on April 1st, 1927. In the same year the Ford Motor Company was sued by a certain Mr. Minamoto for stealing his invention. I will give the dispatch sent out by the Tokyo Press agency, *Nippon Dempo*: "A Mr. Gisuke Minamoto, Ushigomo Tenjincho, Tokyo, instituted a suit Monday in the Yokohama District Court against Henry Ford. The world's automobile magnate is charged with destruction of reputation and obstruction of business. Mr. Minamoto recently invented a charcoal burner for a motor-car for the purpose of saving fuel. The Ford general agency in Yokohama deliberately insinuated his invention. Hence, Minamoto sued the American motor-car king."

The comments of "O. D. R.," contributor to *The Japan Advertiser*, published in Tokyo, are worth quoting. "Some idea of the new model to be issued by the Ford Motor Company may be gained from the dispatch sent out by Nippon Dempo. Apparently the new Ford will be equipped with a hibachi (a brazier used in the Japanese home that burns charcoal) instead of an engine. It is just a matter of a few months now until someone in Japan is presented with a pair of silver vases for inventing the Ford. I hope Mr. Minamoto wins his case. Indeed this is but a typical instance of what has happened to perhaps a thousand other Japanese inventions. Only six months ago it was aeroplanes. Within a few weeks we have read in the papers here of the invention of the telescopic sight by a Japanese Army officer; of the invention of the neuterdyne in

radio, of the perfection of a device to send photographs by wireless and of many others, all by Japanese, and which the wretched Westerners 'insinuated' years before. It was thus through the centuries. We find Japan more insinuated against than sinning. Even the so-called horse laugh was invented by Japan and insinuated by a cabby in London in 1791."

Time and again I have been asked such questions by my pupils as "Have you moto (motors) in your country?" "Have you pompo (pumps) in your country?" and hundreds of others of the same calibre. Several of the students read somewhere that we British slept with our boots on, and despite strong denial on my part were never fully convinced that this was not so. Mr. Tanaka, another university professor, informed the Japanese that the Westerners never took a bath; he went even further and, anticipating some refutation from those "barbarians," stated that those members of the races present in the country, being anxious to defend the low culture of their fellow-countrymen, would, in all probability, deny this.

Thus throughout the Empire do these things become fixed in the mind of the people, and fixed deliberately by those in power, with malice aforethought, as yet another means of glorifying their own country. Examples of this are endless. In March 1932 a Mr. Yawaya contributed an article to a magazine called *The Fujin Club*, a periodical that has a considerable circulation in Japan. In this he wrote: "Western women wear furs because they are so very near to the animals themselves that they carry their relatives on their backs; the animals are their brothers—brothers of those fool foreign women." The lengths to which they will go to are amazing, and in this case it is especially curious seeing that the Imperial Princesses are extremely fond of wearing furs.

A further illustration of the extraordinary mentality of the race comes from the experience of a German friend of mine. The gentleman in question wanted a

new pair of trousers. He went to a tailor in Tokyo and was measured. At this point I must mention that he was peculiarly sensitive on one point, he was bandy, and when I say bandy it would have been easy to put your fist between his knees when he was standing at attention. When he called for his breeches the poor fellow found that the tailor had carefully and laboriously moulded the garment to the figure. Wrathfully he explained what he wanted and strode out of the store. In a week he returned to find the enterprising cutter had manufactured a pair with the legs curving outwards so as to "correct the deformity of the honourable Mr. German." Eventually my friend overcame his difficulty by sending another man of the same stature to give the order and to be measured.

I have said that the Japanese cannot reason, but I do not wish to give the impression that they are entirely thoughtless. They do a certain amount of thinking out and planning, but, having come to a decision, they will study the beginning rather than the ultimate result. After the great earthquake of 1923 they realised that Tokyo must be rebuilt at once. Having made up their minds on this point, scores of bridges were ordered to be built across the rivers and canals. These were so rushed that at least a dozen of them were and still are uncrossable.

Such metropolitan matters as the instance above are not of sufficient importance for the real Government. It was probably thought out in part by the permanent departmental staffs, who have a certain amount of influence, although only in matters of little or non-national consequence. Through their influence the Press was told that "unsatisfied with the progress Japan has made in the mental world of recent years, officials of this institution say that if the food of the country can be improved and scientifically attuned, a great boon will have been achieved." Unfortunately this happy thought was stillborn and ended with the Press distribution. Enquiries as to what institution

was referred to, led to the disclosure that the whole sentence had been cut out of a foreign journal and "Japan" substituted for the original name.

As I have indicated, one of the chief jobs of the Government, apart from the usual departmental work, is the nourishing of patriotism and duty to the Emperor by means of propaganda. One of its members, Mr. Kobashi, who, as Minister of Education and Public Instruction, was responsible for this department for some time, launched a campaign on morals. He appeared before the public himself and addressed the schools throughout Tokyo exhorting the nation to live up to a higher standard of morals. Hardly had the movement got under way when *The Japan Chronicle* discovered that he himself had made one of his servants his mistress. She continued to live in the same house as his wife and family and produced two children by him. His wife proper was a well-known lecturer on the education and upbringing of children. Then one of his legitimate children ran away with his chauffeur and Mr. Kobashi grew so indignant at this disgrace to the family name that he publicly denounced her. I am glad to say that he was removed from office shortly afterwards when this, combined with the story of his own liaison, became known.

He is one of the very few examples of a public man that overstepped the mark, for it takes a fairly healthy stride to achieve this notoriety. The very fact that the Press of Japan received instructions to the effect that "if a Cabinet Minister is charged with taking bribes, that is forbidden mention" speaks for itself. In 1930 *The Chronicle* complained that "it was almost impossible to remember the things that must not be mentioned. There is a constant succession and even the most trivial things come under a solemn ban. . . . We are told that the Japanese are the most loyal people in the world, but they are treated as if they were the most disloyal and independable."

Next to banning or forbidding a report to appear in

a newspaper "denying" is a popular move with the Government. The late Baron Hayashi, ex-Ambassador to London, told the gem of a story of a colleague who was sent on an official mission to Washington with instructions to "deny everything." Mr. Hara, Prime Minister of Japan, stated in Parliament that the "Open Door Policy" (equal trade chances for all nations) in Manchuria could not be maintained, and that the Powers were well aware of that fact. Rather naturally this was reported in the newspapers and, through the Press agencies, to the rest of the world. Immediately H.I.M. Embassy denied that the statement had ever been made, although there is no doubt as to the veracity of the report. Incidentally there has, of course, never been any open door policy in Manchuria.

Japan has not been entirely devoid of thinking men. There have been, and still are, members of the race who can see the folly of their Government's methods. Indeed, many of the two hundred political murders that I have mentioned previously, were on account of the opinions of the assassinated. Two of the most outstanding men who deplore their country's policy are Dr. Nitobe and Mr. Ozaki, M.P. Both are regarded as freaks and I would advise them to watch their pens and tongues carefully in the very near and very critical future of Japan. I will go even further and say that in all probability, although Mr. Ozaki is the younger man, he will die first. In 1930 Dr. Nitobe remarked that "we must guard ourselves against the danger of falling into the delusion of race pride." He held the position of Under-Secretary-General of the League of Nations for seven years, and was a man who knew both Eastern and Western worlds. In the same year that he warned his own race against themselves he made the many bitter attacks on the Government of his country. In one interview with *The Mainichi* he says: "About twenty years ago my mischievous mind was tempted to write a book—*Kokkei-koku* (A Humorous State)—by which I meant a country where the government and the

people talk big and do little, where the art of governing is a ridiculous farce and a lie. How little did I then dream that I should but wait a score of years—until the year A.D. 1930—when I might select good illustrations nearer by! Yea, even within our own gate, in the halls of the highest chambers of Council in our land, and in the conduct of the political party that boasts of the largest following and the largest resources, headed, too, by a most adroit and cantankerous gentleman." In a second interview he remarked that "the least advanced class of men in this country is that of the politicians. It is chiefly they that clog the wheels of the State machinery, that poison the mind of the nation." While in his opinion "the opening of the Diet means the assembling of about a dozen politicians, scores of pugilistic experts and four hundred puppets." I must point out that both Dr. Nitobe and Mr. Ozaki have damned themselves in the eyes of the nation by marrying "barbarians." The former has an American wife, while the latter is the widower of a British lady.

One of the greatest scholars of all Japan, a true nationalist, professor of the Imperial University, member of the House of Lords and of the Academy, by name Dr. Inouye, was intellectually assassinated and forced out of society through a passage written in a book of historical research. The charge made against him was that "the statements are destructive of the fundamental character of the Japanese Empire because they make infallibility of the Imperial Throne conditional." This is the excerpt upon which the charge was made: "The sacred Imperial message, which might be said to constitute the fundamental character of our Empire, is referred to in the Nihon-gi. The Nihon-gi was written in A.D. 720. It dates from the Nara period, but the idea was not conceived during that period. It was in the Nara period that the idea was recorded as an old tradition." The scholar was strongly attacked for having thus raised the question as to the origin of the Imperial message, which had been given by the Sun

Goddess. His "informers" were General Kusau, Mr. Momoki and the famous Mr. Toyama of the "Dragons." Between them they managed to have Dr. Inouye completely ostracised.

Dr. Nitobe gives this picture of the interior part that makes up the Yamato mind: "Because our people lack a sense of humour, they are extremely touchy and needlessly pointed in argument, and exasperatingly susceptible in social intercourse. It may not be surprising if some sociologists one day proclaim that there is a close connection between the promptitude of the Japanese to commit suicide and their lack of sense of humour." Mr. Sato goes even further, and speaks of his own countrymen as "ungenerous," and adds: "Time may come soon for me to choose hell rather than live in a Japanese community." This lack of sense of humour is interpreted by a loyal Japanese as sensitiveness. Nitobe asserts: "Few people on the face of the earth are more sensitive to others' opinions than we. A frown that would escape the notice of an Englishman would cut us to the core. Woe unto him who inclines his ear only unto sweet sounds."

There must be many, even among the masses, who see the danger in the policy of delusion that the country is pursuing, but who dare not express their opinion. Their fear is that their neighbours may report them. In 1930 the Imperial Government asked the people to spy on each other and to tell the police anything they found. *The Mainichi* remarks: "Quite recently the Metropolitan Police authorities announced that 'henceforth they would welcome secret communications from citizens,' what amounts to a national spying system, of sneaking into each other's houses and reporting them to the police. This system will afford the malignant means to injure others against whom they may happen to have some grudge." The Westerner will still wonder why the people do not demand their rights. I must repeat once more that the masses have had their minds moulded for them. The police, in their eyes, are the

representatives of the Government, and the Government is the divine Emperor, who can do no wrong. The people, as we understand the word, do not exist in Japan, they are completely overridden by the departmental staffs of the Government, and by the secret societies in conjunction with the police. The method adopted by the Toyama-Uchida combination (the two big men of the Kais, or societies) is one of dogmatic denunciation. A statement by the defence is, without evidence of any description, stated to be untrue. The spying system has placed immense power into their hands. I will tell one simple story of its results.

An old, old man, named Sakae Osugi, a retired schoolmaster, lived quietly with his wife and his nephew, a boy of ten years. He passed his time and earned a little money by giving private tuition. He was happy with his wife, had he not worked hard for fifty years? Neighbours, rivals possibly for his private pupils, some petty enemy, reported to the police that the family's thoughts were not loyal to the Emperor. No, they had never heard them uttering disloyal statements, but it was known that they did not approve of everything the Government did. The three of them were arrested and flung into gaol. They were grilled by a group of police in their cell and then Captain Amakasu appeared. He offered the old man a cigarette. Would his wife like a cup of tea, and a drink for the handsome boy? The parents were relieved, the honourable Captain had come to see fair play. What was their trouble? Please, they had been accused of thinking against the divine Emperor and the country of the Gods. It was not true, had not he, the old man, served his country well and truly for many years? Why, he had always taught his boys to revere the divine Emperor. The honourable Captain went behind the old man, he patted him gently on the back, then he strangled him. Next he strangled the old woman, and lastly the child. After some period of detention Captain Amakasu was released, and it was stated the family had confessed their guilt. The paper

with the largest circulation in Japan retold the story, and pointed out, as was true, that the Captain had "used only his two hands." Finally it declared: "There is no doubt that he is a national hero." To-day this honourable Captain holds a high position in Manchuria. He is one of the three men who act as advisers to the Japanese Army in that country.

In the sixteenth century Montanus said: "They take delight in cruelty and bloodshed and the like." They still do so. Their passion for blood is not confined to the admiration of political or patriotic murder. I can never forget the mass murders of thousands of helpless Koreans after the earthquake of 1923. I was present with my wife on the peninsula during the quake, and while the massacres were taking place. Not a building was left standing, fire had broken out, everything was burning; clothes, food and shelter were non-existent. A rumour was started in Japan, God knows how, that the Koreans were contemplating an immediate invasion of the islands. An invasion, when they had no ships, when there was no food and no drink. The rumour spread and the Japanese armed themselves with swords. They started out and killed every man, woman and child in the neighbourhood who could not prove himself Japanese. Even their own countrymen were slaughtered if they could offer no proof of identification. Fortunately, although I had lost all my papers, I found one dirty card in my kimono that gave my status and address in Japan. My wife and I had managed to find two grass mats, which we tied together in the form of an arch as a shelter. Under this we crawled. The men appeared, I showed my card and each of us was given an armlet of blue thread to show we were not Koreans. An hour later the men appeared again and we were given a different coloured armlet—a precaution against a person copying the colour and becoming immune. Hour after hour they changed the colours, and each time they appeared their naked swords were dripping with blood, their clothes

were steeped in it, chunks of human flesh were be-spattered about their persons. They were drunk with the lust for blood. Hair, hands and faces were dyed dark with drying human blood. I asked the reason for this wholesale slaughter, I dare not question it. I learned that the "Koreans had already invaded Japan." "That the Koreans were responsible for the earthquake." The minimum number of Koreans killed was 8000. Not one was armed in any way. I need hardly add that strong denials were sent out through the Ambassadors. The murders were described as the result of "the usual rioting that inevitably follows such a disaster," and their numbers were cut down by nearly 90 per cent.

That is the mentality of modern Japan. It is the mentality of a primitive tribe that has been trained in modern warfare, that has had the results of a Western mechanical civilisation thrust suddenly upon them. But it is more menacing. Behind the superficial veneer is that *knowledge* of a divine right to rule the world, the awareness of their superiority over peoples of the universe, and this has made them a race of religious fanatics whose God is Japan.

CHAPTER III

THE FOREIGNER IN JAPAN

THE attitude of Japan towards the foreigner is, to-day, something of a paradox. There are the Government tourist authorities, on the one hand, making great efforts to get the foreigner to visit Japan, and presumably to leave with pleasant memories, while, on the other hand, the Imperial police seem to be determined on no account to allow any of their plans to go through. In 1930 the head of the official Japan Tourist Bureau in Tokyo complained in *The Advertiser* that "the police prevent every scheme to make Tokyo attractive to foreign tourists. Two or three detectives are ever about the Imperial Hotel to make sure that the foreigners do not skid off the moral path."

There is no doubt that the presence of foreigners in Japan is extremely unwelcome to the majority of the people. This is due mostly to the government propaganda explained in the last chapter. To the minds of the Japanese the peoples of the earth are divided into three sections. First, and superior to all others, are themselves, the Children of the Gods; next come the barbarians, which includes the yellow and white races of the rest of the world, and last are the Korumba consisting of the peoples of India and Ceylon and all negroes and black races. Of these last two sections there were resident in the whole of Japan at the last census some 6500 persons. They were divided as follows: Americans, 1870; English, 1610; Germans, 930; Russians, 850; French, 400; British Indians, 230; Swiss, 170;

Canadians, 140 ; Portuguese, 130 ; Dutch, 90 ; Italians, 45 ; and Norwegians, 45.

The number is very small in proportion to the population of Japan, consisting of nearly 90,000,000 people, and yet there is a special department of the metropolitan police to look after them, and the Japanese Press takes delight in reporting matter derogatory to the guests within her gates. Scarcely a day passes without some fantastic story appearing whose object of abuse or derision is a foreigner. If no new fable is available, then some tale or escapade that happened, or rather was reported, years before is dug out of the files and rehashed as new. In 1922 there was a glowing account of an assault on a policeman in Tokyo by two members of the British Embassy staff. The story was followed up by a reporter, who stated that after enquiries from the servants' quarters at the Embassy he learned from the menials that the whole staff had come home drunk on that particular night, and that this was by no means an uncommon occurrence. As a result of pressure from high quarters the paper acknowledged that there was no foundation for the story or any part of it. In September 1926 the identical narrative and its sequence were revived. In October of the same year a second paper repeated the history of the "British Night-out." A little later the smaller Press took it up.

When the United States passed her Immigration Law in 1924 the newspapers of Japan were moved to frenzy. Criticisms whose language could not be reproduced here were printed. One newspaper's comment ends on a somewhat singular note, almost admitting in itself that Japan's civilisation is a mere veneer. It stated : "A law has been passed in the United States which virtually declares the Japanese to be an inferior race and which every Japanese thinks derogatory to his nation's honour. Our diplomats and statesmen shake hands with American diplomats and statesmen and say that everything is all right. It is a lie ! It is a base falsehood ! The Japanese

have for centuries breathed the moral atmosphere of shinju and fukushu (vindictiveness and revenge) and the same spirit still lingers deep down in the soul of every sane Japanese however glossed over and disguised he is by exterior trappings of modern culture."

During the first days of the United States' decision Japan was in a state of hysteria. Feeling ran so high that the American flag over their Embassy was torn down and slashed by the crowd. Military officers, the navy and the police rubbed hate into the minds of their men. Hate and revenge were the toasts of all the patriotic parties. The "Grand Seigneurs" who had been presidents of American-Japanese societies were forced to resign their memberships. All the superb sacrifice of money—it amounted to 11,302,848.56 dollars—of food, clothes, bedding and first-aid materials by America at the time of the great earthquake, only one year before, were forgotten: the country of the Gods had been insulted. Japan even appealed to the Orient; the country with a divine Emperor, of Children of the Gods, asked for the moral support of the East! Certain patriotic societies plastered the country with posters bearing these words: "The Japanese must never forget July 1st, when America inflicted intolerable insult upon Japan. Prepare for such steps as are demanded for the honour of the Fatherland when occasion comes. Every Japanese must remember the following rules:

"Alter your mode of living so as to impress the date lastingly upon your mind.

"Hate everything American.

"Deny yourself luxury.

"Never forget National honour for private gain.

"Never enter a church supported or guided by American missionaries."

Since that date, while the Press attacks on the foreigners have not been particularly increased, the mental aspect towards him has intensified. Previously

it was one of distrust and disdain, now hatred is included. I have already mentioned the complaints of the Tourist Bureau against the police spies round the hotels, and during the time I was in close touch with the foreign department of the central police organisation I saw many such exhibitions of spying and police dealings with foreigners. Many an European would leave his hotel with the sole purpose of buying cigarettes, or of having a drink, but in every case he would be the object of interest to some shoddy little man in the employment of the police. If the foreigner climbed into a street-car the little man would jump on too. If the former went for a walk, the little man would follow. Until he is safely back in his hotel the foreigner will be dogged by the little police spy.

As may have been gathered already, the lot of the white man resident in Japan is not easy. Generally, if he is in the employment of a home company, he is well paid, but this hardly compensates him for the petty humiliations that he receives at the hands of the people. The ordinary tourist may never be aware of the insults that are flung at him, and unless a man has lived with the people he will be incapable of realising the true opinions that the people of Japan hold of other races. In all their dealings with foreigners the Japanese, and especially the officials, will seldom use the normal words of courtesy that they would to countrymen of their own under the same circumstances. They think that as he does not know them it does not matter; and anyway, did not the High Director of Foreign Affairs of the Metropolitan Police, Mr. Mishima, write to *The Japan Times* with apparently no other purpose than to declare that "all foreigners are inferior to the Japanese."

When the police come to the house of a foreigner, who is decently married to a Japanese woman, it will never enter the officer's head to address her otherwise than as he would speak to a prostitute. He will ask her: "Ge

wa ? Joro ka ? So ka ? ” “ What is your immoral profession ? ” “ Are you a prostitute ? ” To a policeman, trained to despise and hate the foreigner, it is quite impossible for any woman, other than a harlot, to be living with a white man. Follow closely behind an European or American walking with a Japanese woman, and listen carefully to the remarks passed by the crowds. Consistently and monotonously you will hear “ Hah, joro daro.” “ She must be a prostitute.” Often have I overheard the comments of the crowds. There is one expression in the Japanese language used exclusively to describe women who go about with foreigners. It is “ Rashamen ” ; it is untranslatable, but indicates someone who has fallen as low as possible. It has a far lower meaning than prostitute and has an implication that is revolting.

In 1930 the attitude of the passers-by in the streets of Tokyo even led to a protest by *The Mainichi*. One of the many letters on the subject sent to newspapers reads : “ Dear Amanajaku, Your comments on the discourtesy towards couples of Japanese and foreign races is most timely and will be read by hundreds of people here who are always smarting under the gratuitous sneers and snubs that are directed at them in public. This dirty and contemptible attitude of mind is not confined to the coolie or lower classes, in proof of this let any doubter watch what goes on if a foreigner, accompanied by his Japanese wife, enters a public conveyance or steps out into the street where Japanese men are walking.

“ I have long ago ceased to go out with my wife because of the certainty of public humiliations. Will any Japanese explain to the writer of this letter why a foreigner walking with his Japanese wife is certain to be insulted some way or other ? ”

These incidents may do something to dispel the idea that I have heard so often both in America and Europe that it is easy for a white man to marry into the higher castes of Japanese society. My own personal experience,

one of the rare, successful instances, is too near for me to forget. The family opposition, the broadcasting throughout the Empire, the unspeakable insults and petty humiliations that both my wife and myself had to withstand, were not easily forgiven.

The Japan Advertiser, which for a long time maintained silence on the matter, in 1930 at last awakened to the fact that the vernacular Press was uttering libels against foreigners, and instituted enquiries. As a result of these the following article appeared: "... There are at present nearly a hundred secret associations which are devoted entirely to attacking foreigners. Nothing infuriates a Japanese more than to see an European or American dancing with Japanese women. They are the 'Chosen People.' One of the secret societies tried to abolish this unseemly custom. While the Sunday afternoon dance at the Imperial Hotel was in full swing, a body of armed men forced their way into the hotel, armed with swords and wearing black masks over their faces, determined to start a massacre, the only thing that prevented the 'race protectors' from carrying out their scheme was the inspiration of the manager. He told the band to play the national anthem, and to keep on playing it. No Japanese will insult the Emperor by moving during its performance and the situation was saved."

In *The Mainichi* a long letter from a German, written in 1930, ends by saying: "I have never had this experience in any other country. I am sorry for Japan.

"Possibly I shall have some trouble for publishing this, but it is the best service I can do for Japan, and the police can but drive me out of the country—and, indirectly they are doing so now. I intended to stay in Japan for several months—but now I shall be glad to enter China in a few weeks. (Signed) Werner Zimmerman. Tokyo, May 5th, 1930."

The case, known as the "Ricci" case, became a national holiday. That one petty, sordid story of the

quarrel between a man and a woman so excited Japan that the Imperial police were unable to perform their ordinary duty in the capital. The home of every foreigner, who was faintly suspected of ever having spoken to either of the persons concerned, was invaded and the owner cross-examined for information of his or her habits.

Apparently Mr. Ricci and his special Japanese lady friend were having a night out. A little too much wine, a question about a ring, and the two became excited. The hysterical young lady fired a little gun and the bullet lodged in the leg of Mr. Ricci. As I have said, the story was rather sordid and very petty. But the whole nation stopped work. The papers sold as never before. "The nation undermined by the barbarian horrible immorality," ran one headline.

The chief point in the Ricci case was that a foreigner had been charged. That is what appealed to the people. A foreigner, a barbarian, had broken the law! In the eyes of the Japanese this was a time for rejoicing. "If the foreigners are charged with breaking the law," says *The Advertiser*, "they will be given a legal trial. Meanwhile, they are mobbed in the street and pilloried in the Press, and in an orgy of the worst kind of 'page three' journalism." Another paper, writing of a similar case, says: "A foreigner is depicted as struggling with the police (as if there were any use against such a world of them) who are evidently holding him in position so that his photograph should be taken. The whole campaign is engineered by the brothel keepers. Japan has no interest in preserving morality. Practically a full day's examination at the police station and Mr. X was left to the tender care of the flashlight brigade, and, in fact, police appeared to help rather than to hinder the seekers of sensation. Chased down the street, Mr. X had literally to fight his way through. He was hit on the head and received a nasty kick on the leg." In this particular



CURBING DANGEROUS THOUGHTS

case Mr. X was the son of a doctor, and held a high position in a prominent company. After further enquiries the Chief of Police was forced to admit that the affair had been grossly exaggerated, and that there was not sufficient evidence for a trial of the case.

This organised abuse of foreigners is not confined to mere public insults and assault. Where possible, they are omitted from State functions or local celebrations. In 1929 the Tokyo Academy of Music—like most other institutions of culture built up through the foreigner—held its Fiftieth Anniversary. Several Princes and Princesses of the Royal House were present, but the foreign professors on the staff were not even invited. Messrs. Verkmeister and Sholtz, and Mrs. Petzold were their names, and they had spent several years in the Academy. For months previous to the celebrations they had been working to perfect the special pieces for performance before the members of the Royal House, whose presence could not be outraged by an invitation to these three barbarians.

Recently His Imperial Majesty was to pass along the Tor Hotel Road in Kobe. One afternoon, when the people were at work, a few days before the procession, the police thought it an excellent time to visit the homes or rooms of the foreigners. They turned everything inside out. They lifted the bed-clothes, mattresses and mats. Then they gave strict orders that no foreigner was to go out in the street, nor was he to open a window or stand on any balcony or exposed place until His Majesty had passed. It was not fear of anarchists or of an attempt on the life of the Emperor but merely another opportunity of showing the people the inferiority of other races.

Recently I listened to a conversation between a foreign lady and a policeman, in this very same road in Kobe. The talk was somewhat one-sided as the lady's knowledge of the language was strictly limited. Her husband was out of town. The officer began by saying :

"You must come with me to the police station. Why do you come to Japan ? To sell ? Why did your husband open this shop ? How much money do you earn ? Can he guarantee 1000 Yen ? Where have you money ? Why do you take money out of our country ? Why do you do all your own work ? Why do you not give work to Japanese ?" In another case a Scotsman was agent for a valuable line of wood in Japan—a wood that is not grown in Japan. A large firm, whose directors often dine with Ambassadors, asked him to come to Tokyo. In the board-room he soon learned why he had been summoned. He admitted he was the sole agent for Japan. Next he was informed: "We want that agency." He refused to sell, and the reply ran: "We will take it from you ; we will crush you in two or three months and then write direct to the firm in Burma." Next came his police examination, which ended with them saying: "You have money." "Yes, but it is in Scotland." "But you have a fine house, you must sell it."

So great is this anti-foreign organisation that the English names were removed from railway stations, trams, buses, presumably to make his lot just a little harder in Japan.

In a discussion on foreigners some mention is necessary of the Japanese colonies, the chief of which is Korea. The people of this peninsula are part of the Japanese Empire, but they are not admitted as co-patriots with the race of Gods. They have not the right to vote as do the Japanese, whatever their social, intellectual or economic status. They do not receive anything approaching equality of treatment with the race in any condition of their lives. They are sent to separate schools, even of the same grade. They are forbidden any attempt at a career, whatever their talents, in any branch of the Civil Service, and thus all official doors and representation are denied to them. The Korean labourers are paid under half the rate that a Japanese, doing the same work, receives. If engaged in Japan they are housed

like cattle or not at all. When a group of them are employed in the construction of the elevated sections of the railways in Japan, they are forced to do the best they can under the arches, open to wind and rain.

"Korea, if developed, would do away with the unemployment problem and excessive population difficulty," says Mr. Kashi, President of the Fusan Chamber of Commerce. "Only one-sixth of the total area is being cultivated." There is the great Island of Hokkaido, not too cold and not too warm, as big as the three islands of Shikoku, Kyushu and Formosa put together. There are immense tracts of land that are capable of supplying 5,000,000 koku of rice yearly, and whose timber resources are 2,800,000,000 koku. "Here is a fine opportunity," adds Mr. Kashi, "for the Government to show its ability in carrying out a programme of far-reaching importance." Of the attitude of the Japanese towards the Koreans little need be added except a reminder that the latter are barbarians. Perhaps this report from a missionary in the peninsula will give some indication of the state of affairs in this the largest colony of the Empire. "We, in Korea, have seen a people deprived of their independance at the hands of a military power; we have witnessed atrocities committed by that military force. It is hard for us to see the good in the people that have been the aggressors: in our sympathy for the folks we love, we find it hard to love the ones we feel have wronged them."

The policy of Japan in China and Manchuria will be discussed more fully later, but it would be well to mention that in Japan proper not a single Chinese is permitted to engage himself for labour. The few Chinese shop-keepers are almost "squeezed out," yet if they hinder the money-making of the Japanese in any part of China it is a diplomatic insult to the race, and demand requests are sent out through the Embassy.

Under the heading of foreigners I am including the Eta. In actual fact they are pure Japanese, but in treatment they are among the least fortunate of all peoples. In the

Shinto ritual contact is avoided with three things : defilement by blood, physical mutilation and death. In reality the Eta are a relic of old Japan but the prejudice against them is as almost strong as ever. Before 1868 the Japanese never ate meat and the touching of flesh meant defilement. It was the job of the Eta to bury both people and animals and thereby they became unclean. Even to-day they are segregated from the rest of the nation. They live in their own districts and villages. Marriage between an ordinary Japanese and one of these Eta is absolutely forbidden. If a father discovers that his daughter-in-law is born of Eta parents it is a matter for divorce, and the father will not rest until he has cleared the family name by securing this divorce. If it is discovered that a soldier is an Eta his life is made a misery for him.

Officially there are 1,000,000 of these Eta in Japan, but I estimate the number as being over 3,000,000. In other words there are 3,000,000 Japanese who are not Japanese, who have not the rights of citizenship, who are not allowed to go about their business without insult and maltreatment. It is incredible and not a little tragic. There is, as I have said, the traditional prejudice, but even when England burned her witches she did not burn the children too, and at least she has always regarded the business of the undertaker as a worthy and necessary, if somewhat morbid, profession. It is the fact that they still "take a delight in cruelty, bloodshed and the like," as Montanus said in the sixteenth century, that keeps this tradition of the unclean Eta alive to-day.

At the root of all this anti-foreigner growth is the race bug, a culture bred and nourished by the Government pathologists. It is injected into the mind of every Japanese at birth and carefully cultivated throughout his life. It has affected the brain and the outlook of the people and has turned malignant. It has magnified themselves in their own eyes and minimised the rest of the world ; it has enabled them to forget what it is convenient for them to forget, and given them a sort of

power of mental elimination of actual facts. The facts that the Imperial navy was set on a firm foundation through the training and tuition of thirty-two British officers; that the army was fashioned into a mobile organisation by the French and Germans; that the postal and telegraph service is the result of American genius, are completely overlooked. Soon the Japanese were manufacturing the same things and later their tortuous brains claimed the discovery and inventive rights of those things. It is an axiom with foreigners in Japan that trade-marks, patents or rights are rarely respected in the country. Everything that is piratable is copied by the Japanese merchant, and still the race bug is responsible. Mr. Frank Fox, writing in the *British Empire* on the subject of the Japanese in Canada, says: "It is this jealous preservation of his nationality that makes the Japanese so hated in British Columbia. No class speaks well of him, he is known as a truculent and insolent employee, as an undercutting merchant or manufacturer and as a boycotter of all European undertakings." In Japan itself this attitude is described by *The Chronicle* as "hounding on the nation to damage the business of a few individual foreigners." Mr. Uenoda, tracing the history of the development of this patriotism in *The Japan Advertiser*, regards the war with China as one of the most important periods in the record. He says: "The Japanese had become keenly conscious of the greatness of their Dai Nippon Teikoku (Great Japan Empire). Foreign critics marvelled and spared no word in extolling and magnifying the capacity and ability of the Japanese people, as displayed in the walk-away victory over her giant neighbour. Japan was petted and encouraged by foreign critics. It became No. 1 boy. With the victory in the Russo-Japanese War ten years later the Japanese people went finally mad over the greatness of their country, Japan ceased to be a mere No. 1 boy. It had become a prodigious and dangerous No. 1 boy in the eyes of the world. To the Japanese themselves a mere Dai Nippon Teikoku had become a

pale name. To them, Japan, superb and incomparable, became Dai Nippon Teikoku Ban-Banzai (literally, Great Japan Empire Tens and Tens of Thousands of years, but with the meaning or inference of Great Japan Empire Over All)." Another milestone in the chronicle of patriotic development appears with the "present trouble in the East." The whole world through the League of Nations and the United States passed a motion of censure. The whole of the Japanese nation learned of this condemnation and Japan resigned from the League, but she pursued her course of subjugation with equanimity. She flouted every race of barbarians and the motion of censure was stillborn. Once again she proved to her peoples that she was all-powerful. Great Britain made a half-hearted effort at judgment and forbade the export of arms to both China and Japan. Labour, being in opposition, squealed, and demanded an embargo against Japan alone. No other nation followed up the measure and it was withdrawn. In the meantime Japan had described it as noble but futile; childish, and without the word noble, would have been a better description.

The existence of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance has, I believe, given birth to a certain admiration for Japan in the British Isles. The very fact that Great Britain has exchanged promises with a nation of the East is, no doubt, in part responsible for this. In addition to this the amazing manner in which Japan adapted herself to modern civilisation, and the speed at which she was able to assume and take advantage of the innumerable utilities from the West, to say nothing of her astonishing success in two wars as remarked by Mr. Uenoda, quickened this admiration and earned the applause of the whole world. Those admirers may ask how it is that Japan came to sign the Treaty, if she so hated foreigners, and further, if all my facts are true why they have not come to light before this book was published. The answer to the first question part is, of course, fairly obvious. Apart from its being a matter of convenience to both parties, the anti-foreignism in Japan is fostered,

apart from abuse and ridicule in the Press, under the guise of patriotism, which is, in Japan, the extolling of its own people in comparison to those of other nations, with a view to instilling in each person the conviction of his or her supreme power, not only as a child of the Gods, but in all matters, and of displacing the "my country right or wrong" patriotism of other nations with an awareness of the incompatibility of "Japan" with "wrong." Of the Treaty *The Japan Chronicle* said: "It was a matter of convenience for both countries but Japan, at times, found it much in her way. At the time of the Twenty-One Demands on China in 1915, it was openly boasted that the Japanese Government was taking advantage of Britain being busy in Europe, to consolidate her interests in China. As Britain was fighting for her very existence, this seemed a very cold-blooded attitude, but it aroused considerable enthusiasm in Japan." The interference on the matter of these demands was highly resented and has never been forgiven. *The Chronicle* continues: "and when it was found that it served to hinder Japan's interests it was openly denounced as a stumbling-block to Japan's path." Among the Japanese people the Alliance has always been regarded with disfavour. This view, born of their patriotism, I have heard declared openly in the streets. During any period of diplomatic disagreement with England the remark of nearly every man in Tokyo is: "Ah, this will end the accursed Alliance!"

In reply to the second part of the question as to why these facts have never appeared before I will give several reasons. First it is necessary to glance at a map of the world. Japan is a very long way from England and Europe. Science, even in the West, has advanced at a tremendous rate during the last twenty years, and the mind of Europe has not yet accustomed itself to the fact that distance to-day does not necessarily mean immunity. Until recently Japan has been too far away even to be "News" in England, and for a long time the news sent out from Japan came from an agency called

The Kokusai Tsushinsha. All Reuter's reports came from them. Behind *The Kokusai Tshushinsha* was a certain Viscount Shibusawa, a very wealthy man and naturally a patriot, and it was as much as the job was worth for an employee to send out any foreign news in any way derogatory to Japan. Now this agency is *Rengo* (Japanese, pure and simple), but the damage was done in those very vital days when Japan was developing. Next we must consider the official news through the Foreign Office. Naturally the latter depended to a very large extent on their Embassy, and the British, or indeed any, Ambassador is almost the last man who has a chance of acquiring a genuine knowledge of the sentiments of the nation. He is surrounded by spies, as I learned during my association with the police, and in his case the espionage system is carried to an extraordinary length. "A" may be appointed to watch the Embassy and "B" will be appointed to watch "A," a third man will be told off to watch "B" and a fourth to watch these three. In addition there are the secret societies devoted to watching foreigners, and the general public who are ever anxious to report any suspicious behaviour of a barbarian or a Japanese friend of a barbarian to the police. Again, all foreign officials in Tokyo move in the official circle, and can never see the real mind of the people. The language difficulty is against all foreigners, who have not lived with the Japanese, and who cannot appreciate the niceties of insult of which no other tongue, with the possible exception of Chinese, is capable. As a last resort to any news that does get through, and which is not palatable to Japan, there is the "official denial." Finally I would mention the resident correspondents of the European and American Press. Most of them live in hotels, in an atmosphere that is not Japanese. They build up a little England, a little Germany, a little France or America in Japan. They are surrounded by spies, they are unable to speak the language, or, if they have some knowledge, it is limited to a degree. One or two of them, whom I know well, have lived in the country

for twenty years and still cannot speak a sentence of the native tongue correctly. Questioned on the history of the country, they will scratch their heads and after some hard thinking venture the opinion that the restoration took place in 1868, or was that when the United States' navy landed? To satisfy those admirers more fully I would remind them that when Japan did become a factor in the eyes of Fleet Street, "special writers," "special correspondents" — beautifully vague terms — were splashed about the news pages. *The Daily Mail* even sent out Mr. Ward Price to review the position, and he managed to "interview" the Emperor, a feat, I may add, of which both he and his paper may be justly proud, although no doubt the Government of Japan saw in it a means of obtaining an ally in the enemy's camp, forgetting that the last confessions of a notorious murderer would be of equal, if not of greater, interest both to the editor and the general public. The only foreign journalist I ever met who had any inkling of the menace of Japan was Lord Northcliffe. In the last talk I had with him in Tokyo, early on the morning of his departure, he told me that he had come to the conclusion that the Japanese were the "greatest showmen in the world." Of the native Japanese reporters I can do no better than to quote a British Consul of Korea who once stated that "the only faith to be imposed in a Japanese correspondent is a negative one—that is, his report is certain to be untrue."

Before closing some mention must be made of the luxury tariff. Here is a piece of legislation, seemingly passed with a view to making the life of the foreigner in Japan even more uncomfortable. By means of this tariff the Government put a tax on almost everything that the foreigner in Japan found necessary. Even cheese, which is never eaten by the Japanese themselves, was included. *The Chronicle* commenting on it, said: "The luxury tariff itself was, of course, an abomination. As a source of national revenue it was contemptible. What was done was to study how the handful of foreigners in Japan

lived and to discover what articles they would find it most inconvenient to live without, and to tax those articles 100 per cent. A meaner piece of legislation has seldom been perpetrated in any country. Owing to the morbid cult of patriotism in Japan, to back up foreign opposition to a Japanese movement is regarded as the last word in lack of patriotism, no matter what the rights and the wrongs of the situation may be. Even so far as foreigners themselves are concerned, they are often terribly afraid of falling into disfavour themselves."

I could continue quoting cases of humiliation and affronts offered towards foreigners until this book assumed the proportions of an encyclopædia, but believe the few instances of which I have spoken may be sufficient to give a clear indication of the attitude of Japan to other nations, and what is more important, to disclose the menace behind this attitude.

CHAPTER IV

THE PEOPLE AND THE CONSTITUTION

IN Japan the family system has always exercised a profound influence on the life of the country, and its working is a subject on which foreigners have few opportunities of gaining knowledge. In the vast majority of Japanese homes the husband is the absolute master and has the absolute privilege. He takes sole possession of the whole of the property, and his wife is no better than a maidservant. It is said that a woman has three obligatory duties : she should obey her father when young, her husband when married and her son when old. She has no property of her own, and she is consequently completely subjected to the will of her husband. She must wait on him at table, and take the lower seat. She must get up early and sit up late on his account. Although monogamy is the principle a man may keep several concubines. The civil law does not recognise a concubine as a member of the family, but her son may become a legitimate child. The husband can divorce his wife from his side only and her consent is not necessary. A so-called "three lines and a half" letter of divorcement suffices, while she who is divorced is mocked and despised by the community. The children live in awe and fear of their father who demands absolute obedience from them. Marriage, the foundation of the Japanese family system, is generally decided by the parents, and the newly-wedded couple remain at the house to serve their parents. The bride is expected to treat her parents-in-law rather more tenderly than her husband, whose first duty is still to his father. This filiality does not cease on the death of the parents but

extends to their spirits. Primogeniture is strictly observed in the family, and brothers and sisters are expected to obey the "house-head" (eldest son) with as much respect as they do their father. Briefly that is a picture of a Japanese home and its defects are many. It diminishes the spirit of independence. Behind the virtue of co-existence and mutual aid there grows a feeling of mutual dependence, until at last the spirit of independence disappears. It is a matter of course that a child should take care of his parents in their old age. From the point of a child's development it is undesirable that parents should depend from the outset upon their children for this. In the same way for the children to depend on their parents, even though they may be quite old enough to stand alone. This tendency is called *sunekajiri*, which translated literally means to nibble at the parents' legs. In some of the modern families the young married couples leave home immediately, although this is rather the exception than the rule. In many cases a son is married off with the sole purpose of getting another woman in the house to help, and she is treated rather as an adopted daughter than a daughter-in-law.

This close family life definitely results in the elimination of enterprise in the individual. His mind works in a narrow circle, and the intense cultivation of patriotism by propaganda makes him quietly self-satisfied, without desire or ambition for knowledge. In addition the state of health of the average person in Japan is appallingly low. In their never-ceasing mind culture the Government completely overlooked the bodies of their subjects. Indeed the visit of Dr. Egerton C. Grey, M.A., D.Sc., F.I.C., M.R.C.S., who went to Japan in 1927 on behalf of the League of Nations to enquire into the high death-rate of the country, was the first occasion of any acknowledgement that the health of the people was poor. It is especially interesting as it was the first occasion in the history of Japan that a thorough research has been made into the relative food values of the Empire. The findings

of this specialist are intensely interesting and he informs us that "the Japanese people live near the border-line between health and malnutrition. The whole of the country districts lack Vitamin A, while the towns lack Vitamin B. Absence of vitalising substances is at first not obvious. It may remain a hidden source of evil, gradually undermining the health of the community, and be responsible indirectly for many disorders.

"Directly related to food we have obvious examples in diseases of the stomach and intestines, the total incidence of which in Japan, as far as the writer is aware, is greater than in any country of the world. Probably more children under five years of age die from wrong feeding than in any other country. The death-rate from intestinal diseases in Japan is greater even than from tuberculosis. There is talk of a commission to enquire into the conditions of the food-supply in Japan.

"It is because the food of Japan is low in nutritive value and because of the practices that rob it of so much of its vitamins, that the Japanese food problem arise. But it is not only in the absence of the essential accessory factors of vitamins that Japan is in such danger, the factors themselves are greatly deficient. The protein and fat and lime and phosphorous and iron and alkali have been shown to be deficient. What is to be done to make up the deficiencies? Owing to the naturally low nutrition value of the food, and the artificial treatment to which it is subjected (90 per cent of it has been deprived of vitamins) the population of Japan lives near the border-line between health and disease."

Now the state of health of the people has been the same for close on two thousand years and I venture to suggest that this malnutrition is responsible for the low mentality of the people. The infant mortality has always been high in Japan and to-day it is almost certainly greater than in any other country. According to a report on the slum districts in North Osaka, out of 366 births, 60 were stillborn and 86 died within the first few months. One of the causes is excessive toil during

the pre-natal period. It is estimated that one in every three cases of birth dies before maturity is reached.

As every other nation, Japan has its unemployment question and it is estimated that there are many millions of people out of work. Nothing is being done for them, as the English edition of *The Mainichi* states : " The poor people who have lost occupation through no fault of their own are left to starve or commit suicide. Our public places are swarming with beggars in utter destitution ; so many crumble to dust on streets and high roads, exhausted by a life of dejection. These are all human beings, and, moreover, citizens of a proud Empire."

Two years later another report from the same paper remarked : " It has been stated that the unemployment situation in Japan will never become so serious as in foreign countries because of the traditional family system. Workers are returning to their native villages to be protected by their families. Our industrial problems may thus be minimised, but what is the price paid by the nation for permitting the impoverished rural districts to shoulder the burden of unemployment ? Not only are the farmers being forced down to the lowest level of mere existence, but the local administrative units are rapidly becoming bankrupt and almost cease to function. Many villages are unable to collect taxes, and even if the authorities seize the villagers' property they are finding it impossible to convert them into cash. One of the most serious phenomenon in the rural districts is the closing down of elementary schools through lack of funds."

Since these reports were published there has fallen upon the farmers a canopy of misery. The military group think the time ripe to take the masses in hand with a view to war proper. The brokers in the towns see an excellent opportunity for working the market. It is estimated that in 1930 80,000,000 yen were spent in dumping 5,000,000 koku of rice into China while in Japan millions were near to starvation. Actually in order to exist many of the rural places have resorted to barter, but the farmers must have cash. The result is that

trafficking in girls has increased enormously. The subject of this market for human flesh will be dealt with more fully later, suffice it to say here that there are provinces where there are only old people to be seen. The whole of Yamagata ken is denuded of its feminine youth, sold to the prostitute traders and agents. In Ichigo, where, again, it is unusual to see a young girl, the buyers for the geishaya offer the better prices. Nowadays the wretched farmer and his wife, instead of, as formerly, asking the Gods for a boy, pray for a female child. That baby is sold even before she is born. Both parents make their rounds of the Shinto shrines and the Buddhist temples to beg for the only object that still has a ready market. But here again the price of the commodity has fallen, until even going the round of the Gods has become but poor economics, and it is almost a question whether the price offered will enable the parents to bring up the baby until the terms of the contract begin. Boys cannot be kept, there is no market for them and the cost of living is too high. Here again a new industry has sprung up. Rather is it a revival of an old profession, I refer to the baby-brokers. These men take the unwanted children and hand them over to the executioner. This has always been the custom in Japan with illegitimate children, but in the country it has now spread to the legally born. For a few pieces of silver the broker will take the babies and nothing more will be heard of them.

In these days it is pitiful to look round in the public cars of the cities and in the buses of the country. Misery stares out from every face. Sadness and despair are the fashion of the day. "The greatest sculptor of the day could not chisel a mask so pathetically supplicating for clemency as the faces of those oppressed men," says Mr. Sato. Mr. Kayahara, writing of the life of the Japanese, remarks that his countrymen live "in the religion of destiny, the religion is the religion of death, they struggle on in an effort to find how to live but life is a burden to the Japanese under the spell of their dark

religion. The religion of the West is the religion of life, therefore they have developed an energetic economic life." Yet it is this religion, this faith, that is carrying them through. The knowledge that they are the children of the Gods, that Japan is a country of Gods, ruled by a divine Emperor, enables the people to accept their appalling hardships philosophically. From birth it is instilled into them that their patriotism is the first duty to the divine Emperor, that Japan is all-powerful and will one day rule the world. Possibly their low amenities are responsible for their blind acceptance of their faith. Always since time began has the lot of the masses been hard ; maybe had their life been easy, flowing with milk and honey, then they might have had time to think and to understand more fully the policy their rulers were pursuing.

In view of the remarks in the last paragraph it would be well to consider the constitution of Japan at this point. On going into the etymology of the word I am tempted to call it the "Institution" rather than "Constitution."

Dr. Washio, one of the few men of Japan in whom logic seems to be inborn, has taken great pains to dissect the tortuous way of the ideographs, and to turn into precise and mathematical language a balanced analysis of the constitution of Japan. It is only natural that the divine message of the Sun Goddess, Amaterasu-O-Mi-Kami, should appear early in the written foundations of State. That message is embodied into the first article of the Japanese constitution as follows : "The blessed and fertile land shall be governed and reigned over by my descendants for ever. My dear Imperial Grandson Thou shalt govern and reign over it and thy throne shall be established as firm as Heaven and Earth." Article IV states : "The Emperor is the head of the nation and controls sovereign rights and exercises them according to the provisions of this constitution." The original, in ideographs, implies no limitation of the Emperor's sovereign rights, which are unconditional. The late



THE EMPEROR OF JAPAN



THE EMPRESS OF JAPAN

Prince Ito, the framer of the constitution, commenting on this clause compares the Emperor's sovereignty to the relation of the head to the rest of the body. The implication is that he is not bound to the provisions of the constitution but chooses to observe them. They are his grants and not the concessions forced from him.

Article V runs : " The Emperor exercises his legislative power with the concurrence (kyosan) or co-operation of the Imperial Diet." Now the Japanese word " kyosan " does not mean consent in the sense of using it in such a context as " ruling by the consent of the opposition." Consent in the Japanese meaning is a word between two equals, but the Emperor is superior to the Diet as the Japanese father is superior to his family. He asks for the co-operation of the Diet, but does not seek its consent or permission. Prince Ito disowned the theory of " social contract," made current in the West by Rousseau, as the basis of modern political democracy. " Such an idea," he writes, " is an impermissible misunderstanding of the one-ness of sovereign rights." It would seem that the Diet is rather more for reference than advice. In short, the Japanese constitution is an instrument that defines the *duties* of the Diet, without defining any *rights* of the Diet towards the Throne. Theoretically the Throne is an absolute autocrat. The Imperial Proclamation of 1866 is not to be compared with Magna Carta. It simply expresses the Emperor's voluntary will to consult the representatives of the people for the conduct of state affairs. It is not a Charter if the word charter implies any idea of contract between the Emperor and his subjects. Even the Budget is not, in theory, sanctioned by the Diet, which only deliberates upon it by the Emperor's order and expresses its opinion, which opinion only gains validity on the supposition that the Throne will sanction it. Another way of stating this is to say that the Japanese constitution document is a moral document and that the relation between the Throne and the Diet is moral and not legal. Yet throughout Japanese history the Emperor has rarely ruled

personally. The only ruler in name and fact was Jimmu Tenno the first human Emperor. Even in the restoration the Emperor was not the prime mover, and the usurpers were usurpers of all the sovereign rights of the state, and ruled by force and cunning.

Whatever the articles of the constitution the fact remains that the Parliament or Diet does not govern Japan at the present day. "There has been two tendencies growing to prevent straight parliamentary government. The one is the new secession of individuals trying to entrench themselves in the old vantage position left by the elder statesmen and defending the orthodox constitutional doctrine. The other is the inability of any political party to gain a clear majority. The election mechanism serves the people that way, and there is no public opinion to surmount the barriers of this mechanism. Has this queer tortuous politics been moral? Have not force, cunning and intrigue been more glaring than the spirit of fair play? Has not the 'one-ness of sovereign rights' produced centreless politics? The Emperor is, in theory, a perfect autocrat, but does he actually rule? The 'Genro' (elder statesman) can be a dictator, but he no longer dictates. The Parliament is not theoretically the seat of sanction. The people who may choose, choose nothing definite. The Press gives us the impression that neither party is worth choosing." This writing is by Dr. Washio, and is a clear exposition of the psychology of the Imperial constitution; it continues: "Our government has one of the most centralised administrative machines in the world. Even on the execution of purely local issues, the approval of the Tokyo superiors are usually required. The present red-tape system is but the cumbersome natural outcome of this over-centralisation. We have the Diet, which is supposed to represent the will of the people. But how sadly lacking are the representatives in their initiative and judgment! This state of affairs must be expected, however, because the very system under which our representatives secure their political training is devoid of

opportunity to create personal opinions on public matters. What is the outcome of this inefficient Diet ? It is the subordination of the people's wills to the wills of a few executives ! " Santaro " speaks of a particular election meeting as typical of most of those held throughout the country, he says : " None of the assisting speakers I heard on that night referred to was fit for the job. Some were so ignorant that they spoke continually of ' *Seiyukai* ' (one party) when they meant ' *Minseito* ' (the second party). They mispronounced the names of ministers and well-known politicians—blunders which are inexcusable in a man who sets up as an assisting speaker to the candidate." He further stated that the substance of the speeches were often more against than for the candidate whom they had come to help to Diet nomination. I myself have listened to many such speeches, where the speaker is impossibly ignorant, quoting the words of opposing Ministers, muddling up the names, mispronouncing them and talking of politicians long since dead, as though they were hale and hearty at the time. I am in no way exaggerating when I compare it to an Englishman, supporting a free-trade liberal and speaking of the " great Lloyd Shaw, I mean Shaw George, greatest Scotsman living," and mentioning Gladstone in the next breath as that " long-armed liar in the Opposition." The people themselves are, inevitably, even more ignorant, and resemble Mr. Bertram Wooster, who confessed to his readers on being introduced to a Cabinet Minister, that " as a matter of fact the bird was completely unknown to me. What with one thing and another I'm not frightfully up in the personnel of the political world." The only difference is that " one thing and another " in the case of the Japanese is how on earth they can manage to live.

The Diet, or House of Commons, is composed of " about a dozen politicians, scores of pugilistic experts and about four hundred puppets," according to our old friend Dr. Nitobe. The average member of the Japanese parliament would be unable to tell you whom he represents.

On my questioning one such gentleman on this very subject, he looked astonished and began murmuring about its being a State secret. Mr. Ozaki, of whom I have spoken before, remarked that the only difference between the two parties was that one was "a set of robbers and the other a set of thieves." Of the Upper House there is little to be said. I can only describe them as being a group of reactionaries who fight tooth and nail for the rights of their own particular clan, and whose only other ambition would appear to be keeping the masses as much as possible in the dark as to the real state of affairs. There is one other group to whom some reference must be made in that they are part of the constitution, I speak of the Privy Council. This council is made up of twenty-four men; their average age is seventy-two. This collection of old-timers, from my observations extending over fourteen years, seem to be obsessed by one of their powers, non-ratification. It may possibly be their only joy left in life, but I am in no way exaggerating when I say that if there is one infinitesimal detail, however unimportant, that this group can seize upon in a Bill, it will be thrown out.

I have given only a brief picture of the parliament of Japan, but do not wish to give the impression that the country is ruled by the inefficient and ignorant group that I have drawn. I have endeavoured to show that with such a group nominated by the people, it is only natural that the real power has or should be taken by a few strong men who work behind the scenes. No nation can jump from a feudal primitive state, as Japan was until the end of the last century, without knowledge of science of any description, without organised laws, with its people fettered to their own particular province and under their own particular princeling, to the state of a world power in the space of less than fifty years, without the ruling power passing into the hands of those who are more far-seeing, quicker-witted and stronger than their compatriots. It is analagous with a race of Rip Van Winkles who went to sleep in the fifteenth century and

awoke in 1938. Japan suddenly had the inventions of Western science thrust upon them, and the masses of Japan have not been able to grasp their import fully to this day. Before the education of the people of England she had very few labour troubles. I have heard it said that *The Daily Mail* is the cause of all her industrial problems through its campaign for better education. If you can imagine an England, with its people totally ignorant, being educated along the lines of Japan, that is, being convinced that the King is divine and that each Englishman shares this divine right, and further that England is the only country in the world peopled by divine beings, then you can picture Japan soon after the restoration. Suddenly grant them representation in parliament, and show them aeroplanes, motor-cars, radio, telephones, none of which they have seen before, and you have a picture of Japan as she is to-day. It was inevitable that her parliamentary representatives should be as ignorant, and through their power far more dangerous, than the people themselves. Equally inevitable was it that the real power should pass into the hands of those whose brains were more able to grasp the possibilities of Western civilisation. I shall have more to say of this group that rules Japan from behind the scenes, at this point it is sufficient to remark that it is in their interest to foster the spirit of patriotism to the utmost. By so doing they have 90,000,000 people to call upon when the time is ripe, 90,000,000 people, with the fire of patriotism in their blood, who *know* they are divine, ready to fight for the Emperor who is their God.

CHAPTER V

THE SOUL OF JAPAN

IT was Professor Kakehi, I think, who said: "To understand Shinto is to gain insight into Japan and the innermost life of the Japanese; for under no circumstances may Shinto be ignored by them, for such would be tantamount to denying their national existence." Sir Harry Parkes, a formidable and indomitable personality, and probably the greatest ambassador Great Britain ever sent to Japan, once expressed his profound disappointment "which he, in common with others, had felt in being unable to learn what Shintoism was. Japanese, in general, seem utterly at a loss to describe it." I have already tried to give some indication of Shinto in the previous chapters. It is a conscious fact, a cult, rather than a religion. The Imperial Government will not allow it to be classed as a religion. In view of the patriotism that forms so great a part of it, there is no reason for surprise in this decision. Were Shinto degraded to the status of a religion it would be on a par with Buddhism and Christianity. It might possibly appear as a choice between the three creeds, and as such would lose prestige. There is a special official, with the status of a Minister, whose sole duty is the preservation of everything that concerns the race-cult. Shinto is Japan and Japan is Shinto. The Chief of Shinto, the living God, the high priest, direct blood representative of the first divine Goddess herself, is present in the person of the Emperor.

I am going to take a liberty with history and for the first time refer to the cult of modern Japan as Neo-

Shinto. The Shinto of old, that is the Shinto of Jimmu Tenno and of the people up to the time of the restoration, such as it was, is dead. Gradually it had been swallowed up by Buddhism, but with the return of the Imperial family to power, a strong son was born to it. Neo-Shinto is more positive, more active. Shinto was a mere sub-conscious factor, although an extremely important factor, a mixture pure and simple, of ancestor and nature worship with a reverence towards the Throne. Neo-Shinto was built up on the foundations of this older faith, which can best be described by quoting *The Japan Times*. This paper, speaking of the new thoughts coming from the West, said that Euporeans "are apt to forget the fundamentals of our Japanese race nature. For history records that all manner of foreign ideas have, from time to time, flooded the nation, but standing like a sun, about which these new ideas found their proper and subordinate place, has, through long ages, stood the Imperial House. Indeed no foreign idea—Buddhism, Christianity, Democracy, Socialism,—may survive in this country and find root in the consciousness of the Japanese unless it subordinates itself to that undefinable yet all-pervasive soul element of the Yamato race, which stands crystallised and symbolised in the person and tradition of His Imperial Majesty. For deep in our race is rooted a reverence for the Emperor as the descendant of the very Gods to whom we owe our being. Indeed, even to speak the words 'Tenno Heika' or 'Shison' conveys to us a very solemn and deep impression and stirs to depths our profoundest emotions. To explain or rationalise this attitude is unnecessary; it is fact and true because it exists." That is the old Shinto of pre-restoration days. It defines the feelings of this wordless, gospelless cult. Race nature, race soul, race, that is Shinto.

Neo-Shinto is more concrete in its ways. It is the excuse for the persecution of the foreigners, of the political murders that are so frequent. It is the basis of the favourite charge of "dangerous thoughts" which

result in the arrest of its citizens on the information of their neighbours. It is the cause of the request for espionage of the people by the people. It is intensified by the introduction of "Army Day," "Navy Day," by the increase of ceremonial on feast days. A concrete example of this new phase is apparent in the felicitation of the Imperial House on the birth of a prince or princess, when all the newspapers publish the good wishes and joy of the nation. This is but one of the thousands that appear: "We, the subjects of His Imperial Majesty, express our heartiest felicitation. We take pride in coherency of national genealogy, that we have all descended from the very ancestry to which our most distinguished of August Rulers owes its beginning. Our love of country and our loyalty to the Sovereign are born of consciousness of national unity, of the inalienable tie of kinship. Japan is a family as it is a nation. What a happiness, what a bliss! Banzai for the Royal Family, Banzai for Nippon!" And as an even more positive instance of the new form we have the case of Mr. Uchimura, a Christian Japanese, who was a master at the First Higher School in Tokyo, and who in 1930 was forced to resign because "he did not bow his head low enough to the picture of the Emperor on the occasion of the latter's birthday."

As in the case of its predecessor, Neo-Shinto cannot be referred to as a religion. It is, as I have pointed out, an awareness, a national consciousness, a *knowledge* in the sense that my knowledge tells me that I am an Irishman, and as you may know that you are an Englishman. There is no substrata, no body in this formless, bottomless force that has any beginning or end or limit of any kind upon which the Western mind may fasten in the manner that it has been able to absorb, say, the negroes' sensations of psycho-motion through their native dances. It is absolutely alien to all our forms of culture and thought. It seems to me comparable to the wrapping of a naked, quivering, new-born soul with fine-spun silk, and persuading that soul that the silk is its natural

covering, that it was born with it. People with such minds are moved by different emotions from us and from any other people in the world, and every emotion in such cases must be registered on a different scale to those of the outer worlds of human thoughts.

Long ago stray ethics of Confucianism found their way into Shinto. Confucius was a Chinese teacher who lived about 551 B.C., to 479 B.C. Sixteen hundred years ago his teachings began to filter through from China and Korea into Japan, and to-day they are part of Japanese thought and have become dovetailed into Neo-Shintoism. The reason for this lies in the fact that the teachings of Confucius fit so perfectly into the idea of Shinto. He taught that deep respect must be given to the heads of states ; reverence for the family, dead and alive, was another of his rules, and the Japanese realised that such a doctrine would even strengthen their own Shinto and thus it became an ingredient.

There are to-day two kinds, not schools or sects, of Shinto. One is Shrine Shinto, where beliefs and ritual are maintained and which is well-known throughout the world and has no value in the considerations I wish to bring forward. The other is non-ritual and is Neo-Shinto proper, whose shrine is within the soul of the modern fanatical patriot of Dai Nippon. Before discussing this cult in all its aspects I must mention that while the Neo-Shintoists are not necessarily Shrine Shintoists, the latter are all Neo-Shintoists at heart and in fact. I can only compare them with the church-going and the non-church-going Christian who is really sincere and, at heart, practising. Many of the most fanatical leaders of Neo-Shinto have not the time to attend the Shrines, and those who do so are mainly the superstitious people. Those believers have their own sects much as Christians have their denominations. The sect Shinto has little direct bearing on the movements and policies of the world ; it is the national Neo-Shinto, which encompasses every Japanese being, in or out of Japan, that is the root Shinto. Even a Buddhist or a Christian must be first a

Shintoist. Whatever his belief or creed, as long as he is Japanese, he is a Shintoist. He may not know anything of the history of the cult or of the political philosophy of neo-Shinto, but being a member of the race, he is born a Shintoist. And here I would repeat that the basis of the cult is patriotism, which is in itself enough to account for the strange anomaly of a Christian Shintoist. I have said that it is not necessary to know anything of the history of the creed, and this is not so strange as it may appear. Many Catholics do not know a thing of the Councils of the Church, nor of the deliberations at those Councils, nor yet of the history of the papal power, but they may be fierce believers nevertheless. They are good Catholics even though they may prefer one order to another. This is nearly likewise with Shinto, but the great difference is that the Holy Roman Church is not the church of a race, whereas Shinto can be the creed of the Japanese only. No foreigner can be a Shintoist even if he became a fanatic of the cult-creed and honestly believed in it. He is not of the Japanese race and Shinto is for the Japanese only.

Old Shinto, the basis of Neo-Shinto, is a form of nature and ancestor worship or reverence. The Gods of this nature Shinto are innumerable; there are human spirit Gods, animal spirit Gods, Gods of trees, stones and objects that are beyond belief. It is a natural sequence that, as the Japanese know they come from a stock of Gods, their first reverence or worship is of their dead parents, or family. The highest human living is the Emperor as he is the direct line descendant of Tensho Daijin, the Sun Goddess, and therefore, above all, they worship him. This accounts for the acceptance by the nation of certain of the teachings of Confucius, especially of those urging the reverence of high authority. From this particular teaching the ladder of forms of courtesy, known as *rei*, has developed. These forms become more reverential, more polite, as one speaks to a person of high degree. Thus when addressing the living God, the Emperor, the highest form of reverential language

and the most reverential of all the form courtesies must be used.

In an attempt to analyse or define Shinto it is advisable to consider the writings of Doctors Katsuhiko Kakehi, Gino Tanaka and Genchi Kato, the three greatest scholars on Shinto in Japan. Their opinions will serve as a solid base upon which to build up some tangible understanding of Shinto, and at the same time will go to show the grip that the cult has taken on even these deep-thinking professors. Dr. Kakehi defines Shinto "as an universal ideal of life of the Japanese as set forth by the divine Amaterasu-O-Mi-Kami and conveyed to the Earthly Empire of Japan through the teachings of the Emperor Jimmu Tenno, the Great Founder Gods." Dr. Tanaka states that "Shintoism is the great teaching peculiar to the country of Japan and made up of three major elements, politics, religion and morality. The unique national structure of the Japanese Empire has been established because of the existence of this Shinto." Dr. Kato, author of *A Study of Shinto, the religion of the Japanese people*, describes it in three ways, first as "the peculiar religious patriotism of the Japanese people in glorifying their Emperor as the centre of the faith"; secondly as "a uniquely Japanese political philosophy"; and thirdly as "a mighty political machine called upon to render service to the national life in the safeguarding of the existing organisations of the State, Shinto is always, inseparably and intimately, the Japanese race, hence the reluctance of the government to permit its classification as a religion."

There is no doubt that it is impossible to consider the Japanese people without considering Shinto. The unchallenged authority of the cult is guaranteed by the constitution, which is in a sense a written statement of the Shinto conception of the nationality of Japan. This fact, more than anything else, lends dignity and inviolability to the constitution in the eyes of the nation. And, as the Supreme ruler of the land and its people, stands the Emperor, who is divine and inviolable—the object of

national adoration and reverence. The Emperor is the central figure of Shinto as he is the Supreme ruler of the country. At the same time he is the object of worship at ceremonial occasions as the personification of all the deities. He represents, it must be remembered, in person, everything that the nation has and will be—he is the dwelling-place of Amaterasu-O-Mi-Kami. In her person are represented all the Gods of Shinto, and, having derived her existence from the Gods, she rises above them and stands out in the position of central importance. All other Gods exist as her manifestations, or as the extension of her supreme divine grace. This is the essence of Dr. Kakehi's statements and they form the belief of the nation. As long as Shinto exists then Japan will exist too, and if Shinto dies so will Japan, is another axiom of the race. With this view instilled into the people it can be understood how steadily the people hold on to this primitive cult, and how ready they are to follow their rulers to the bitter end.

I have already spoken of the *rei* or forms of courtesy, as being part of Shinto through the Confucian ethics that it has assumed. These forms demand the utmost politeness in all dealings, be it business, marriage, argument or even bitter disagreement. Thus from the Western point of view the Japanese would appear the most sarcastic and ironical of all peoples. It enables them to approach some deed of violence or revenge with a calm indifference, with the same expression on their faces as they would assume while tending flowers or writing a poem on love. Montanus again appears to have seen through them, for in the quaint phraseology of his time he says: "When their Bosoms swell with projects of all manners of mischiefs: and where they bear the greatest, and most inveterate malice, their Speech, Face and Gesture, express nothing but their deep respects, love and honour that they bear them; this is so common amongst them that whosoever deals plain and honestly, speaks as he thinks, and performs what he promises, becomes a mocking stock, and their only Maygame." But it must be

remembered that any act of violence is against the laws of Shinto, unless it is on behalf of the cult itself. As one of the newspapers puts it, if a man "fires a pistol he is committing an act of what is absolutely beyond our comprehension since there is nothing in Japan's past to which his motives may be compared. When a reactionary, however, for the sake of Empire and Sovereign commits an act of violence he is merely acting as did countless samurai and heroes of Japan's past." Now it is rather difficult for the Westerner to console the slaughter of the Koreans, the abortions, the murders of illegitimate or unwanted children by the baby-brokers, the killing of the school-master and his family by Captain Amakasu, all deeds of history of the past ten years, with this samurai and "for the honour of the Emperor" point of view. Yet the Japanese mentality is satisfied that these deeds in no way contravened the laws of Shinto. There seems to be no consciousness of sin among the people. There is not even a character for sin, the character that the Japanese professor will give you is the equivalent of "crime." The Lytton report gave them no sense of wrong-doing. The nation had been uttering no crime against the State, the State could do no wrong, and the State is Shinto; that is the most difficult part to instil into the Western mind. Japan is a race of Gods and can do no wrong. The rest of the world is made up of barbarians and it is Japan's divine right to rule the world. That is Neo-Shinto. Further, it is a militant Shinto. The supreme shrine in all the Empire is the Ise, the shrine dedicated to the Sun Goddess. In 1930 it was renovated and, as the Press announced joyously, the "ceremony" was timed to coincide with Army Day. The Japanese, in their futile attempts to make it into a faith, as we understand faith, have smuggled into the system excerpts from Greek mythology, scraps of Buddhism, splinters of Christianity. The result of this conglomeration of odds and ends is a scarecrow which, like the armour of Don Quixote, may be blown away by a mild storm of intellectual assault. But to attempt to

argue with the people themselves on this point is almost hopeless. It is the hallucination of 90,000,000 souls, who may any day run riot from this hallucination and upset the balance of a great part of the world. "Talk not of reason to a man in love, nor speak of logic to a man in wine," jumps to my mind, but I would rather reason with a whole nation of inebriated lovers than with one of these people.

CHAPTER VI

BUDDHISM AND CHRISTIANITY

BUDDHISM in the Japan of to-day is losing ground, but it is still a religion and has nothing to do with race or patriotism. In its day it had a great innings, and while the usurpers held sway, and the Emperor had become almost a fable, Buddhism was the spiritual faith of the country. It served the political purpose of the different usurping clans in that it held the minds of the race from their race Gods for nearly fourteen hundred years. It was the sleeping-draught of a nation, and the administrators were the ruling families and the high priests.

It is the fault of those very high priests that their religion has lost its grip on the people of Japan. Even to-day there is not a translation of the Sutras, nor is there anything like a synthesis of thought. Buddhism has left many foot-prints on the path of time, spiritual, art, poetry and above all the recognition that the higher animal, the human being, is different from a dog, in that it has the thing called soul. It was Buddhism that was the inspiration to the Emperor Kotoku in the seventh century in freeing the slaves. But the usurpers, although pleased with Buddhism, seem to have overlooked completely the important soul side of the religion, with the result that the Imperial edict, after the restoration, which once more appointed Shinto as the official creed, met with no opposition from the people. Buddhism has fallen and there is little hope that it will ever rise again in Japan. As I have said, the high priests are to blame, they and their predecessors. They carved the poor religion up into fragments until in the resulting confusion

it lost its original form. To-day the motto of the priests seems to be eat, drink and be merry for to-morrow we die. There is, however, one sect that is still holding out, it is called Zen. Zen has fed the military mind since the Komakura period when the usurper Yoritomo was in power. It was introduced during his reign and for many centuries has been fostered by the military leaders. Zen requires strict discipline of its followers both in body and in mind. Yoritomo seized upon it as an antidote to the softening effects of the life at Court. The sect asks that its believers spend certain times in concentration. This is achieved by sitting in small cold rooms bare of any furniture. The concentrator sits on the ground in orthodox Buddhist fashion, with his right toes high up on his left thigh and his left high up on his right thigh ; the hands are folded deeply. He takes up this position opposite a blank wall and stares at this for some hours. Gradually in this manner his mind is relieved of all thought and after repeating this process involving the eradication of the imaginative faculty for several years, on and off that is, he presumably develops into a fairly good soldier. Here I should point out that although the modern Japanese army was fashioned by German and French officers they can fairly claim to have perceived this necessary adjunct, or rather subjunct, to the mental equipment of a soldier before the nations of the West ; not that I wish to infer that average intelligence of the Japanese army is any lower than that of our own, I have already said that the mentality of the nation as a whole is appallingly low.

The remainder of Buddhism, the glory that was, is lost. There is little form or shape left to this religion either in the cities or in the type of " Hotoke " Buddhism that is found in the country. The priests themselves are lost. They appear to have no deep religious feeling in regard to service. They can be likened to the most strictly cloistered monks in that they are above worldly matters and the troubles of the people. Yet they are not too mundane in their own comforts. They need no bell

to summon them to the refectory table. They are good judges of produce of the field, that is, they know well whether the turnip that the impoverished farmer's wife brings to the temple is good or bad. They have a tooth for good rice, but are shy of enquiring as to the state of the farmer's larder who has supplied it. These matters smack too much of economics. They know their ritual but have no knowledge of their faith. There are some who will tell the enquiring foreigner that the secret of their faith lies in the teaching of the secret of life, that the "end is the beginning and the beginning is the end." They have taken advantage of the ignorance of the people and made their religion a mystic solution that cannot be interpreted by their followers, by themselves or by the peoples of the West.

There is one great sect of Buddhism in Kyoto. The ex-high priest, Otani, is a relation of the Emperor by marriage, and the terraqueous faculty in him is highly developed. The "Vaticano" of the sect is a great factor in the life of the interesting old city, in fact Otani was a paragon of modernity among the Buddhist "Popes." He ran a banking account and it is said that his cheques were printed with a special space for the "R.D." He perceived that the more valuable objects of his temple were but the dross and filth of sensual delights and so he sold them, until the interior of his house of worship closely resembled a barn after a famine. He came to the conclusion that religion was made up of mammon and metaphysics, and he determined to study these two aspects in strict rotation. Resolved to extend his knowledge he made a pilgrimage to Turkey. He was received with all the pomp and ceremony as befitted his rank and he wasted no time in pursuing his researches in the world of finance. At Brussa, in Anatolia, he opened a silk factory and his position enabled him to obtain considerable credit in the country. Unfortunately his almost complete lack of practical knowledge soon became apparent and the business began to totter. With the worthy determination of paying his weekly wage bill he

borrowed a large sum from a Mr. Yasui, official Japanese head of the Commercial Museum in Istanbul, and hurried back to Japan. For a short time he turned his attention to the metaphysical side of his religion and remained closely cloistered within the temple walls, refusing to meet even those who were not his creditors. In the meantime Mr. Yasui has been recalled to Japan and almost ruined because of the part he played in the affair, while the idiosyncrasies of the royal relative were soon muted. The high priest practised other arts and pleasures, and left a legacy to the nation of many offspring. Among his progeny are a couple of extremely efficient actresses, whose histrionic ability would appear to be the only legacy left by their male parent, for after the Court had attached his palace and claimed his overdraft, there was little for this priest to do but to forsake the cloth, which he proceeded to do with all expediency.

There are many types of priests in the Japanese world of Buddhism, the new and growing type is given the name of "namakura bonze"—bonze being the term used for the priesthood as a whole. The Shinto or ritual priests are called kanushi. The namakura priests are known for their love of flesh, both table and feminine, each of which is specifically forbidden by the Holy Master. They move in a very restricted sphere; no longer are they the persona grata of Court society—the living God of Shinto cannot allow the member of another creed to approach His Imperial Divine Person. An efficient manner of studying the economics of the priests in regard to the care of the souls of the people is to watch them performing the service for the dead. This ritual varies in strict ratio with the amount offered to the temple by the relations of the corpse. Even the intonation of the priest for a five-yen service is strictly a five-yen affair. On the other hand, if the price is extended, then the servant of the Lord will put up such a clamour to obtain the ear of his Master that the relation will leave the Temple with the satisfaction that after such an attack on the Almighty there can be no doubt of eternal

salvation. As I heard an American spectator remark, the Lord would need the nerve of the Devil to withstand an 100-dollar attack.

Each temple has its special periods of fasting and feasting, and at these ceremonies there are attached groups of young girls corresponding to the vestal virgins of old. During the festival evenings I have seen so many instances of sex orgies, between these young girls and the priests, that I cannot but think there is some deep primitive reason in the origin and growth of the creed to explain their debauchery. As I remarked in the last chapter, all the Buddhist priests are Shintoists, and they are among the best propagandists of the cult. They will cry sky-high of Yamato-damashi, which is Neo-Shinto, higher indeed than of the Holy Buddha, and when it is realised that there are 7314 Buddhist temples and 35,029 chapels in Japan perhaps it will be understood why they are tolerated. The bewildering aspect is why there is so little social betterment in a country of so many priests. The religious Japanese will part with his money, with his food, to pave a way to Heaven, to sit on the Lotus Flower—the Paradise of Buddhism—but he will scarcely lift a hand to help a fellow-countryman in distress. As I have already shown the moral aspect, both of priests and people, does not require great or deep research, for the religion of Japan itself, through the indigenous beliefs of nature Shinto, has included a wide and active phallic worship, but in the social side we might dispassionately expect some good from a nation of so many teachers and so many Gods, it is, however, entirely lacking. The truth about the priests is that they are ignorant, corrupt and vicious.

Mr. Uenoda made enquiries into this corruption and in 1928 he published his report. It only confirms my strongest charges. He says : “ Much has been said about the decadence of Buddhist priests in Japan. Thoughtful Buddhist priests, who admit the widespread corruption, even add that the decadence is spreading. What seems alarming is that the majority of the priests have

none of that deep religious conviction in regard to life and service that should make a priesthood the salt of the earth. I am told by Buddhist priests—most of my information is obtained from more or less prominent Buddhist priests who are in a position to know the condition of Buddhist institutions—that from 70 to 80 per cent of Buddhists are spiritually asleep. The corruption of the priests is the result of centuries of protection and privilege given them by the Government, and which has taken the spiritual vitality out of them. To-day the principal duty of Buddhist priests may be said to have been reduced to the performance of the funeral ceremony and saying mass for the dead.

“The incomes of many temples in large cities from the performance of funeral ceremonies, saying mass and monetary offerings by pilgrims are fairly large. I am told by a prominent Buddhist critic that head priests in many large temples have savings put aside. So lucrative is the position of head priest in some prosperous temples that the office is often sold at a price as high as 50,000 yen. It is true, however, that the mundane life of priests in general has become increasingly difficult to be satisfied with the usual income of the temple. The situation is different from what it was, and the majority of priests have become too much preoccupied with the thought of how to eat, drink and be clothed. Most Buddhist temples in the city or rural districts are haunted with superstition for which the people make pilgrimage to them. The superstition constitutes a large source of revenue to the temple. The majority of priests often wink at superstitions, or are merely indifferent to them and to what the people believe, as long as money is being thrown into the collection before the sanctuary. For many temples, superstition is the principal source of income and as the priests of these temples are often poor, they even have to encourage superstitious practices. Some reformers insist that the temples should be incorporated into companies, as business organisations, to perform the funeral and burial ceremonies. The per-

formance of funeral and mass service by priests is often provokingly businesslike. It is particularly so in the rural districts.

"A party of brothers and sisters recently went to their home town to observe the first anniversary of the death of their father at the home where he was born and died. The priest failed to appear in time as arranged. When a messenger was sent for him, he was not in the temple. His wife, with a bundle of something wrapped in a cloth, started for a house in the neighbourhood to remind her husband of his duty. He was playing gō at a friend's house. In half an hour he arrived at the home where he was to perform the ceremony for the death anniversary. He put on his priest's robe he had brought in the wrapping-cloth and read sutra for half an hour. After that dinner was served and money wrapped in white paper was given him. He drank three bottles of wine and went jauntily on his bicycle with the wrapping-cloth containing his robe.

"The majority of priests are addicted to drinking, and the priest may go anywhere in his layman's clothes. The priest is now confronted with a new vista and exposed to a new set of temptations. The financial confusion of the temple is a convenient condition for the priest to gratify the world of temptations with which he is confronted. Suffice it to say that the financial corruption in the Buddhist priests makes for the spiritual and physical emptiness of the temple. The reformer is convinced that the lazy life of priests in the semi-darkness of the temple is hopeless. He, of course, does not wish all those corrupt priests should die instantly, but he draws his consolation from a thought that they cannot live for ever. Buddhist priests and primary school-teachers are regarded as the most illiterate sections of the public."

It may be gathered from this article that the priests have become a dead weight on the economic life of the people. It must be remembered that the latter are superstitious and that at all costs offerings must be made

to the temples. In the rural districts to-day the farmer can hardly pay his rent, but the priest will come to demand his tithe without pity. I have visited thousands of Japanese farms within recent years and the picture is one of desolation. The old wife squats on her dirty mat, hoping that the day will come when she will be able to buy a new one, when possibly there may be a yen or two to spare, but first the priest must be fed and clothed and have his wine. It is a matter of years since her husband tasted sake. Her whole body aches with toiling in the field and in the house. She sits down to the meal of the evening. It does not consist of the fine white rice grown by her husband, that is too good and must go to the temple or to the landlord in lieu of rent. Their bowl is of the imported Saigon or Singapore, much cheaper and less nourishing. She takes out her pickled plum, one plum must last them a couple of days, at least it gives some flavour to the tasteless mess. When the meal is over the old lady goes to the hibachi, the charcoal brazier, and burns the tips of her bleeding fingers to disinfect them, the priest told her it was safer. Then she goes to the bag in the corner and prepares the white rice for the priest on the morrow. She looks at the little girl in the corner; she has to fast the whole of this year, she must abstain from one special thing and it is her turn this year. Last year it was the father, but this year it is hers. The temple must not want. And soon it will be the "yearly gathering" for souls and something must be made for the Bonze sama, something special, some special little cakes for the honourable priest. If they cannot manage the neighbours will sneer. At all costs there must be something for the priest. She looks at her husband. He goes to a wrapping-cloth and takes out a yen note, hidden from the landlord, and carefully smooths out the wrinkles. He heats a bit of iron and presses out the note smoothly. The priest would be offended with a crumpled note. Then they wash themselves and then the children. Shyly they slip into the temple group and squat on the floor. The priest is talking, he is telling

them the great news of the day, how their friend brought him a special sweet. They wonder how or where he managed to get the sweet. The priest takes their presents one by one and pushes them behind him. He nibbles at any tit-bit that is given him and pushes the rest into his deep sleeve. Then he addresses them again, he tells them of the glory of Dai Nippon, of how proud they should be to be countrymen of Dai Nippon. He speaks of their Gods, Shinto, not Buddhist. Finally he reminds them of the anniversaries for the Founder of the Temple, of other temples, of the high priest, of his son's education, all need money, he reminds them. He gently infers that the offerings this year are not so good as last. He tells them that the temple is in need of repair. They must try hard, deny themselves a little more, he says, the priest must not want. Words pour forth as he warms to his subject. He tells them of *O Bon*—the return of the souls ; of *Sho-gatsu*—the new year ; of the yearly *Ho-On-Ko*—rice offering to the Buddhas ; of the first wheat, of the first *daikon* or long turnip—perquisites of the temple ; of *O-fuse*—money to be brought in white paper ; of *Ho-e*—the monthly offering of money, oil, orei, rice ; of *Eikobukuro*—any voluntary offerings when the name of the giver is put up on a wooden tablet for all the world to see. Everything entails offerings and then the people disperse. The priest must not want.

I can only close with a mention of the Nichiren sect of Buddhism, it claims to be the most severe and most strict of all. In Chiba, not far from the capital of Tokyo, is this great temple. For many years it was closed to the public, its priests were of the strictest order, and in its grounds was a sort of hospice for afflicted women. From all over Japan mentally defective women were sent, and looked after by the Nichiren sect. Its abuses were many. Unwanted wives were said to be mad and sent to the priests for incarceration. The latter received good money for their safe-keeping. But the evil did not end there. In 1928 the temple was exposed by *The Osaka Asahi*, and

immediately translation of the report was forbidden by the police. The story told of debauchery of the priests. It disclosed sexual orgies beside which the tales of Roman decadence pale with comparison. The inmates of the sacred asylum had been used by the priests, in a manner of which no Westerner, however perverted, could dream. Women were chained up naked in the very temple, and the priests appear to have acted like sadistic monsters. Rape, sexual mutilation and ignominy were but a few of the foul performances that took place. Degradation of the foulest kind, things impossible to describe, were everyday occurrences in this holy place. When the raid took place figures of mangled and demented women were found huddled in dim corners while their keepers squabbled over a gambling game and played for paper money stained with blood. The monks appeared to have been excreting upon a heap of helpless women ; many were dead and had been dead for some time, their bodies rotting and putrid.

To Christian missionaries I say such people are not worth saving, they are beyond help. Of their chances with the people themselves, that is the masses, I do not hold out encouragement. A sincere Christian who is a Shintoist cannot, in my opinion, exist. As do the representatives of the Press, so do the missionaries in Japan ; they build up a little England, a little France in Nippon and do not get to know the people. They do not realise the ignorance and the superstition of the people ; they hope to make a convert quickly of a person whose mind cannot absorb things quickly and I would quote them : " Woe unto him who teaches men faster than they can think." I would remind them that not one in ten of their converts is sincere, that the " Japanese will never be such traitors and so forgetful of their duties as to look up to foreigners as their highest authority." I would ask them to peruse the school books approved of by the Minister of Education ; they will find much that is of close interest to them, and many such passages as this which says : " The Anglican Church is the product of

King Henry VIII's desire and beastly mind." The mentality of the Japanese is different from ours ; it would be well for the missionaries to remember that to them our Bible is one of the most obscene books that is written, and above all, that the bonze must not want.

CHAPTER VII

EDUCATION

IT was "Santaro" who asked: "Who is great in Japan? What is a great man? I think that the Japanese idea of Greatness, if I am to state it in plain English, will make the average Occidental gape in incredulous astonishment." The term "great man" is somewhat indefinite, but I am taking it to mean those who have the confidence of the public, or of a large section of it, in their own particular sphere. In the political world of England, Mr. Baldwin, Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Henderson, Mr. Lansbury, Messrs. MacDonald and Maxton, Viscount Snowden and Jim Thomas are, in their way, great men—I hasten to point out the order is strictly alphabetical. Each of these gentlemen has his followers. Every one has definite ability, a knowledge of the world and a firm conviction of the correctness of his own views. In Japan if we take the figure-heads corresponding to this list, we find it is impossible to differentiate between them in their disabilities. Each individual is shallow to the point of imbecility, each exhibits a preposterous incompetency, a complete ignorance of material factors, a statuesque irresponsiveness to human emotions and a total want of the sense of exact science.

The association of greatness with inept fatuity in the background of every Japanese mind is the legacy of the Shogun rulers, and education in modern Japan tends to enlarge this association and to create grossly incompetent rather than cultured graduates. A sleepy chief-sub on the editorial staff allowed the following article to

appear in the columns of *The Mainichi*. The very fact of its appearance is an example of incompetence. From the Japanese point of view it should have been censored rigidly, or refused altogether, and yet it was able to sail past the eyes of several employees in responsible positions. The caption was: "Japanese Education is 'Bunk'." The article ran: "Depreciation of the silver dollar has made it impossible for many Chinese students to continue their study in Japan. They should find plenty of consolation from the fact that an education in a Japanese college or university will not prepare them for a future career but may be a handicap to them. In Japan all schools emphasise complete loyalty to the Mikado, and students are required to worship him as the representative of God. Japanese universities have nothing new to offer to the world. All courses in arts and sciences are second-hand, that is, imitation from the West; on the other hand, Japanese teachers would translate all works from Europe and America and claim them to be Japanese, there is nothing original in Japanese education. There is no reason why they should go to Japan except to see the country."

This report was written by some barbarian professor, and represents the opinion of every foreigner who has taught in Japan, and with whom I have been able to compare conclusions. Any conscientious teacher in a Japanese school needs the greatest moral courage to continue working hard on the barren soil of youthful Nippon brains. Where the teaching of English is concerned Professor Harold E. Palmer, Adviser in Languages to the Minister of Education, remarks that "in Japan it is a failure: that is practically the verdict of those who are in a position to know." Of the Japanese English master the Professor said that usually he spent the time deciphering some abstruse philosophical essay, teaching idioms used not more than twice a year by the average English-speaking person, and himself not speaking more than fifty words of English during class hour. The results of the English-Japanese and Japanese-English

examination for the Fourth Year, Class A, Higher School, showed that only six students scored over 25 per cent of the total marks and there were some hundreds sitting for the examination. The number who were awarded no marks was astonishing, and yet as *The Bulletin of the Institute for Research in English Teaching* remarks, "it is useless to ignore the fact that examinations in this country are systematically and dishonestly faked in order to pass the students."

The comedy of Japanese education is not exclusive to the classical or languages side of the schools, it is apparent in every channel. Here is the desperate cry for help from an outraged professor, also published in *The Bulletin*. I myself have often felt like giving up in despair, and feel deeply for the poor man, who says: "I should be infinitely grateful if any of your readers could throw light on the problem of what to teach the third year Koto Gakko (Higher School) Student. The majority do not know what they want. One wants to hear your views on G.B.S., another the 'English Tradition,' a third 'Social Problems,' and so on. The difficulty is increased when one is dealing with the type of mentality which is convinced that Charlie Chaplin is the greatest hero, outside Japan, of the twentieth century." Perhaps it is necessary to explain that the ages of these students referred to vary from eighteen upwards, and to emphasise that their views on Chaplin are not based on mere admiration but are the result of the negative reasoning of illogical Japanese minds after seeing the comedian on the screen.

As I have said, these wonders of ignorance do not end with English but extend through the whole college curriculum. At elections of the Diet temporary scribes are often called in to compose the literature for posters and pamphlets. The words, "candidate for House of Representatives" are "shugiin giin kohosha," and I have seen the character for "shu" written with the ideograph having the same sound but with the meaning of "elephant." This has happened not once but

hundreds of times. In another poster one stares stunned at the character for "rat." To the general public they read as an invitation to elect a candidate to the "Elephant House" or the "Rat House." In the examinations for conscripts for military training the word-character for "right" and "duty" was written with the correct ideograph by only 28 men out of 100. The important words, Great Japan Empire, "Dai Nippon Teikoku," were written with the wrong script by 46 out of 185, while in 59 cases out of 119 the conscripts were unable to write "Teikoku" at all.

All those candidates mentioned above have received a liberal education. The poster composers were specially chosen for their ability, and were judged by the examinations they had passed. The life of the average boy in the Middle Schools is merely wasted. Most of the time is spent in confusing the teachers and in playing practical jokes on them or their fellow-students. Discipline is almost entirely lacking and the masters have little control over their pupils. A tragic picture is painted by one youth who realised, after being unable to obtain employment, the uselessness of his school-days. Under the title of "Apes in Goal," he wrote: "During all my life I cannot think of a time more foolishly spent than when I was being educated in a Tokyo Middle School. We had not the slightest respect for any teacher. On the contrary, we thought that a teacher was a thing more despised than the dumbest boy in the school. Generally the teachers ended in weeping, much to our pleasure. Once from the class-room window I saw an army aeroplane fall and heard that the pilot had been crushed to pieces, but I did not feel anything. Such was the state of mind that I felt neither sympathy nor sorrow. One of the teachers grew white with fear and rage from being jeered and sneered at. Another grew demented and became a silent, stony man, who did not give up until the very last when we beat him down the stairs with stones wrapped in towels. This was our first instinctive and unconscious revenge against an unnatural system of

education that suppressed our every wish and took away our freedom.

"In the north corner of the grounds was a big waste place. In this small plot each group had its own province.

"There was a bright boy in our class ; he possessed some sort of faith. This was at the time when Japan sent troops to Siberia. This small boy wrote a thundering protest in the school magazine. We did not understand it ; we were only able to make out that he did not recognise our National Constitution. Among us, without any one uttering a word, there came a wish to maltreat this boy. With pale faces we all surrounded him alone. Our anger was fanned and we returned to school thirsting for his blood, and we debated how we should kill him the next day at noon recess.

"The usual prearranged insults and demands began to flow, but he stood, smiling—a placid yet stern smile. One of us asked : 'And you call yourself a Japanese ? Though we don't want to, we are forced to kill you, so beware !' Then began that terrible one-sided fight or murder, call it what you will. For a while I saw his face still smiling, rocking under that deluge of blows. But soon it disappeared, to be covered with blood, trodden on, and stamped under numberless heavy boots. Soon the atrocity ended as suddenly as it had begun. Someone had pulled a dagger, and the teachers, who had hitherto kept quiet and looked on, came rushing up.

"The boy who had thus been nearly killed was expelled from the school."

This vivid description of the type of master to be found in the Middle Schools by one of their own pupils could apply to the vast majority of teachers of that class. The professors of the higher colleges and universities are not less ignorant, but are made fortunately of somewhat sterner stuff. With officials and officers they share one privilege. Certain of them are sent on world "tours of inspection." The term inspection is deliberate on the part of the Government, for no Japanese, who is at all

self-respecting, would confess that the purpose of the tour was to learn from the barbarians. The numbers sent are increasing every year and in 1928 exceeded 600. They embark on the trips with the not-unnatural idea of having a holiday and idle away their days and nights in riotous living. At home their life is drab and monotonous ; those with some smattering of a foreign language would never dream of increasing their knowledge beyond their immediate syllabus. As foreign books take a long time to translate, while they are new in Japan they are old in thought. The Japanese mentality cannot absorb the metaphorical idioms of the English language. A professor, who taught English and was a colleague of mine, once told his class in my presence that the translation of "he cannot teach French for nuts," meant "he is so poor, that he must teach French for nuts by way of remuneration." If he is lucky enough to go abroad he almost invariably passes his time with some prostitute as a companion. His knowledge of London will consist of a dirty little restaurant, a cheap boarding-house, a ride in the tube from Russell Square to Piccadilly Circus—which I have heard described by an associate master as "the place where all the women stand,"—and an intimate and detailed conception of the district making up Wardour and Lisle Streets. Before his return he collects a trunkful of pamphlets, advertising, political, canvassing, anything printed. Time-tables and letter-headings are always to be found among his samples. His first act upon reaching home is to give a lecture. It is the moment of his life. He struts on to the platform and tells the gaping student everything he knows of England. The motif of his tale is of the immorality of the nation—he is, at any rate, speaking from personal experience. Fortunately for England, America is the most favoured nation for these tours of inspection, and the prevailing idea in Japan is that she is a race of nymphomaniacs. The danger of these journeys of the learned professors lies in the fact that upon their return they are regarded as experts on the particular country which they have

honoured. Any statement or fact that I spoke of as regards this country was immediately referred to my colleague who had spent a month in London. If he disagreed with anything that I had said, I was the one to be disbelieved. Every professor will carry about with him fat books in conspicuous positions. Long nails, too, are a certificate of erudition. After a foreign tour foreign volumes will make their appearance, the titles of which are often staggering; for a long time my colleague cherished a 1919 copy of *Bradshaw* and I have seen a bound copy of *Chums* carefully placed in the crook of a professor's arm for all the world to see.

While the basic mentality of all the Japanese is low there is no doubt that the cumbersome Chinese ideographs account in some small part for the poor learning of the race, in that they do not stimulate thought and reasoning power. Education in Japan tends to make the pupils memorise rather than think, and from elementary school to university, teachers and professors are little better than gramophones.

An European doctor of medicine, long resident in Japan, gave it as his opinion that "the Chinese character is an obsolete means of learning and thinking. It impedes the former and stereotypes the latter; it strains and botches youthful brains by cramming them with visual tokens that are cut and dried and cumbersome to co-relation and connected ideation. More could be said, but that this system of education necessitates a ghastly waste of time and toil at a critical period of human life, ought to be sufficient condemnation. It cannot be denied that prolonged studentship under conditions that make for anxiety, despondency and neurasthenia must be accessory to the spread of the dread disease, consumption, and its high mortality." This difficulty of writing does definitely account for the fact that the educational life of a Japanese may not end before he is thirty-five, but it cannot entirely be the reason for the appalling ignorance that is cropping up continuously in the examinations. I have read thousands of papers by the students sitting at

these examinations, and year in, year out, I have been unable to gather whether they are speaking of a country or a disease, of a car or of an animal. They are incapable of describing the kimono they wear without perusing mighty tomes of undreamed-of learning, and this applies as much to their native masters as to themselves.

There is only one thing fixed in the mind of every student leaving his school or university with any degree of certainty, I refer, of course, to Shinto. He has been fed with patriotic propaganda all his life and upon graduation he is fanatical. This, combined with the scraps of information of other countries, with the lies that he has been told by his professors, make him the menace that he is. Consider also his ignorance of elementary matters and he is tantamount to a dangerous lunatic. I have already indicated that America is the most favoured country for tours of inspection, and this country is, too, the land upon which the lecturer concentrates. With his bland smile he explains to his enraptured audience the qualities of his own country. He speaks of the misunderstanding between Japan and America which, as Count Soyeshima put it, is "due to the incompetence of the Intelligence Department which was created for the express purpose of dispelling foreign misunderstanding." Naturally his audience was not aware that the Count himself was a member of the very department of which he spoke. He continues with such platitudes as "war is sometimes brought about by an irrational occurrence." He laughs aside the Manchuria question as, with a deprecating shrug of the shoulders, he tells them, "my countrymen are apt to attach great importance to a 'special position' or 'special interests' in China, more especially in Manchuria and Mongolia, but interests on paper will be of little avail unless they are backed up by real strength." Another gentleman has the impertinence to inform the United States that Britain and France were anxious for the outbreak of war between America and Japan, but added with a smile, "of course, this was a great mistake."

Then turn back to Japan and read what these very lecturers have to say when they get home. "In some parts of the United States the people are little better than brute animals, their thoughts are low and vulgar, and before my own countrymen I will hold up America as a bad example for the benefit of all Asiatics." This appeared less than three years ago in *The Osaka Mainichi*, with a daily circulation of over 1,000,000, and which runs an English Edition for foreign consumption only. It continues: "Americans are as spiteful as snakes and vipers. We hold the Government of the United States as an impostor. We do not hesitate to call that Government a studied deceiver." Mr. Kawashima, a naval writer in close touch with the Powers behind the scenes, roars: "The United States is an evil spirit menacing the existence of Japan, who is now under the pressing necessity of trying conclusions with her. A war with the United States is an absolute necessity, a Japanese-American conflict is decreed by Heaven!" Professor Murai, who spent some time in America, and was entertained lavishly, wrote of his visit in *The Eigo Seinen*, a journal for professors and students. He proclaimed that "all educated young women and men (of America) are degenerate and debauched. Among school-girls there is scarcely one girl who does not carry an anti-conception outfit in her opera bag." Some time later he made another contribution to the same paper in which he states: "In a letter I wrote last year, 'My American Impressions,' I stated that there is practically no virgin in America. On my present visit I have reason to confirm what I then said was not exaggerated. . . . Stanford University made a rule that its gates be shut at one o'clock in the morning, but the students rebelled against such a rule with the result that the university have been forced to yield to the students and leave the gates open, as the students are like the owls. . . ."

Possibly these extraordinary statements on the immorality of other countries could be accepted if Japan itself were particularly moral, but this is not the case.

The subject of prostitution will be dealt with more fully in a separate chapter, but it would be well to mention here that it is possible for this very Professor Murai to buy one of his own country-women as a life mistress for the sum of ten yen or about one pound sterling. There are too many Japanese propagandists who have visited the United States for me to give anything like a complete list, but I cannot omit mention of Mr. Tsurumi. He is, in my opinion, the greatest and most subtle disseminator of Japanese propaganda that the country possesses, not even excluding Mr. Kawakami, although the latter is more widely known through his writings. Tsurumi speaks English well and is able to travel widely, although he has little money of his own. He let it be thought through all Japan that he was against the aggressive policy of General Tanaka in China. He obtained a seat in Parliament by forming an independent party. To-day he is much in demand by His Imperial Majesty's people as their spokesman. He has the entrée to several families in the United States, and has a reputation in that country as a lecturer on things Japanese. He has addressed the University of Chicago and once asked them: "What is Japan thinking about America? We know what you are thinking about us for we know your language. Very few Americans know Japanese well enough to understand what we are thinking, talking and writing about you. (Here I would insert that God is merciful.) This disparity of knowledge between us about each other has been the cause of much misunderstanding and suspicion." The same year that Mr. Tsurumi put forward this worthy piece of rhetoric he was unfortunate enough to have a little misunderstanding with his own police and "was summoned to appear at the Osaka District Court in connection with the allegation of his complicity in the attempt of Mr. Shima (a wealthy citizen, who was in prison at the time) to win over the Meiseikai party to support the Tanaka Government. It is believed that Mr. Tsurumi will be confronted by his younger brother, Mr. Sadao Tsurumi, now incarcerated.

He, Mr. Tsurumi, senior, received from Mr. Yoshiya Abe a cheque for 100,000 yen which was entrusted by Mr. Shima to Mr. Abe. Mr. Tsurumi, fearing the possible after-effect, asked his brother to accompany Mr. Abe to the Tokyo branch of the Chosen Bank to have the cheque cashed." I have mentioned the spying system in Japan on many occasions. Some time ago a lady of my acquaintance had cause to call at the police-station ; on the blackboard the orders of the day were, as usual, chalked up. The main feature was " Kuraberu Forbes." Kuraberu means " watch closely, follow every movement of and spy on " Mr. Forbes, Ambassador of the United States to Japan.

There is in Nippon the Japan Society, its chief consideration is the spreading of propaganda. An American citizen wrote to *The Chronicle* to tell of his meeting with the broadcasters of the Cherry Blossom :

" I saw Griffiths and Kawakami and also Lindsay Russell at the dinner of the Japan Society. Matsudaira and Tsurumi assured some 1100 diners that Japan had only the most disinterested and most philanthropic of motives in the China matter, and that the so-called ' Positive Policy ' was a most unjust misnomer. (This was written five years ago !) Alexander Tison, the president, reiterated the old Lindsay Russell view that Japan as the most neighbourly of nations might well be trusted as the guardian of an unfortunately misguided China. We dined under long streamers decorated with the sixteen-petalled crest of the Imperial House, and all was charming. How the Japan Society manages on a yearly due of five Dollars to give such a dinner, to supply free copies of Tsurumi's new book on Japanese politics, Ledoux's *Art of Japan*, Maurice Holland's *Survey of Japanese Business Conditions*, a free subscription to The New York Magazine *Japan*, and an economic and a general leaflet each month, is beyond my power of conjecture. I wish I could arrange so frugally in my own affairs. . . . Bronson Rea was on hand too, together with Lamont (Morgan and Co.), Upton Close, Adachi

and all the other war-horses of international goodwill."

Mr. Bruno Schwartz, another American who was not bulldozed by the Japanese, contributed a pertinent pen-picture of his fellow-countryman, George Bronson Rea, who runs *The Far Eastern Review*. He called his sketch: "How George the Great Socks the Uplifters," and he says: "Now I am going to tell you a secret. I have been in this here country for nine years and to-day is the first time I've seen a copy of George's paper pulpit and I haven't been hiding in a rabbit hole either. And when I saw it and looked over all the nice propaganda about our little Japanese brothers, and saw the nice pictures of all the Great Japanese Barons and Generals and looked at the nice stories written by the best Japanese propaganda experts that's in it, then I said to myself that there must be some reason for all this and that George wasn't like the Swede farmer who paid the railway company a hundred dollars because his cow ran into the railroad train. No, Sir, by George!" It may be of interest to note that "George" now holds an executive position in "Manchukuo."

Unfortunately there are a greater number of people who are only too ready to believe what they are told. A certain Mr. Francis X. Bushman wrote a long article in *The Tourist*. From this it would seem that the real Mr. Bushman is second only to the Almighty in world recognition, it is in fact a moot point as to which is the more widely known. *The Chronicle* is very gentle and describes him as the "perfect tourist," for "nobody knows everything, so there is no reason to be ashamed of ignorance of things that many other people know. This reflection keeps us from being despondent over our ignorance as to the identity of Mr. Francis X. Bushman." His own eulogy begins by informing his readers that he is known "in the remotest parts." "My guide," he says, "took me to many places never visited by tourists. Being the finest guide in Japan he is appointed as guide for all the visiting notables. He confessed to me that the

weeks spent with me were the most interesting of all his thirty years' career, for everywhere I was recognised and discussed." He makes innumerable astounding observations such as : " Their attitude towards sex and their standard of morals are entirely different to ours " ; and, " they have large families and no divorces " ; again, " all about us was the cheerful clatter of wooden shoes—I like it immensely." His final burst of emotion, accompanied, I am sure, by watering eyes as he wrote, states : " there is no such thing as pushing, crowding, or elbowing ; voices raised in anger ; . . . no beggars." For Mr. Bushman's sake may I quote Dr. Nitobe on this matter. He says : " In all my travels round the globe—North or South, East or West—never have I seen such lack of manners as in this country. This unhappy observation refers not to foreigners, but to our own people, and not to women but to men, not to peasants and labourers especially, but to those who think themselves gentlemen." Another Japanese remarks, " I have not met people so utterly mannerless as the Japanese all over the world, including Africa and Australia, where races not yet touched by civilisation dwell." Mr. Kayahara thinks that " this topsy-turvy etiquette, unnatural and inherently hypocritical, is the symbol of the spirit that leads to every falsehood in the system of our country." So much for Mr. Francis X. Bushman, it is indeed a mystery what comes over people such as he that they should get so many things quite wrong in their delight. There are, every year, thousands of persons who put themselves into the hands of native guides, who dash around the country with their cameras and their diaries, waving cheerily at the " quaint little people," who, in turn, stare at these strange barbarians, and laugh at their antics. Sometimes I do not wonder that the Japanese call them " saru," which means monkeys. I am, whenever I see a group of these intense collectors of knowledge, sadly reminded of Mark Twain's *Innocents Abroad*.

CHAPTER VIII

WOMEN OF JAPAN

I. Maidens, Wives and Mothers.

“This body of mine—!
Pulled by some mighty power
I go tottering along.
The marks of my feet
How dubious they are.”

I HAVE opened this chapter with a poem for the reason that it expresses, not only the dreary existence of a Japanese woman, but also the miracle that she is. To my possibly old-fashioned view it shows her as the living spirit of womanhood, existing only for her family, as the central pivot upon which the home depends; as the object of abuse of her husband's supreme power of possession and of his prerogative of enforcing his will. She is the rock upon which Japan is built; she is without representation and without desire for power, but with a determination to carry on and to produce sons for the Empire. She has that same sense of duty and motherhood and sacrifice that has done more to build up the British Empire than any playing-fields. The woman of Japan is a poem in herself, but the story of her life is something of a threnody.

Lafcadio Hearn endeavoured, time after time, to express the phenomenon of the Japanese women. Finally, in his last and most critical work, *Japan, an Interpretation*, he partially solved the problem by observing that she is “so different from the Japanese man as to give the impression of being of a totally different race.” A very outspoken writer sets the seal

on this opinion by saying that "nearly all foreigners observe the contrast between our men and women, and conclude that Hearn was not wrong. Men are on the whole slovenly, their physiognomy is savage-like, their manners are rough, their speech is wild and their public behaviour is indecorous. Women are modest and considerate, in their private lives they are much more sober and chaste. If our men with their concealed vulgarity and shameless manners be accepted as the standard of men, our women must be said to be angels." This represents the opinion of a native writer, and at this point it would be well to give the considerations of a famous and observant foreigner, Count Keyserling. Count Keyserling was, as is almost every other foreigner, enchanted by the refinement of the Japanese woman. He had neither the necessity nor the chance of putting the women under continuous observation, and his conception, therefore, of their charm is enhanced. He does, however, paint a picture that is neither too exaggerated nor over-coloured. He declares: "It is a delight to behold women who pretend to be nothing but what they are, who do not wish to show off anything but what they can do, whose heart is cultivated in the extreme. The perfection of the Japanese woman is the direct product of her position in life, which she has occupied for centuries; whatever may be said against this position—we owe to it the Japanese woman as she is." An analysis by Dr. Nitobe comes infinitely nearer to the soul of the woman than any of the others, for his is a mind fashioned to absorb the finesses and shadows of thought and understanding, of the type essential to grasp the inside spirit of a woman. His conclusions are that the Japanese woman is "a problem of the world, a problem to her country and a problem to herself." He declares that her whole being is absorbed in her mate and her offspring. "Her whole life is one continuous sacrifice of self; it is vicarious death."

Here, then, we have three vantage-points from which to observe the procession of the millions of Japanese



MRS O'CONROY

PRESIDENT COOLIDGE

MRS O'CONROY

MAKING A PRESENTATION TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE U S A

womanhood as, "pulled by some mighty power, they go tottering along." The array will display a panorama of light and darkness, of tears and laughter, of silent sorrow and living death that has no counterpart in any other corner of the universe. It will show moral virtue and moral vice, where the former shines out as a star through the dreary cloud that is the life of a woman of Nippon.

The Japanese woman has developed qualities against forces that tend to harden, crush and kill them rather than nourish. There is no tender protection in Japan designed to foster feminine gentility. Rather are women subjected to conditions and situations that would seem to contribute towards making them coarse and hard. In public life they are pushed and thrust aside by strong men and are left to struggle on their own against the merciless, masculine swaggr. In education the girls are trained in different schools from boys, and are taught the arts of obedience and personal sacrifice. While women are punished severely for committing adultery, such a deed is by no means looked upon in the light of a crime where the man is considered. In so much as the men and women appear as members of different races, so likewise is their status as different as if they belonged to two nationalities.

Since the opening of Japan by the United States in 1854, the Japanese woman has been turned into a sort of scapegoat for the moral being of the whole nation. The law of the Japanese state is to blame for this. It has committed, and is still committing, daily and hourly, crimes against the finest element that exists in the islands of Yamato, that is, against the women from whom she expects the future generations of children of the Gods. "If the women could rule this country, it would be a happy land," is a remark that I have heard time after time at clubs and meetings. There is, in fact, scarcely a foreigner in the whole of Japan who has not at some time or other expressed this sentiment. The women are more human in every way. The psychological difference between them and their men-folk is

extended even to the language. The words used by women are often quite different to those of the men even when speaking of the same thing. It seems that the softness within makes its exit through a different medium which gives it a feminine stamp and tone. The Western woman will say "do you?" to a man and "do you?" to the King, but with the Japanese woman two expressions would be used. To the child of her own house she may say "Nasaru" or even "Suru," but she will rarely use "Suru" when addressing her husband. She will ask her little girl "Iku kai?"—"Are you going?"—but to her little boy she will probably use a polite form of the same verb, "Irashaimasu kai?", implying greater honour as a due to his sex. In other words she will add the rei honorifics, or by means of another word or inflexion will offer greater respect. The Japanese man will simply say "Tsuki" when speaking of the moon, but his wife is almost certain to refer to it as "O Tsuki Sama," or "Honourable moon Sir." These are merely examples of the psychology of the Japanese woman that flows through every course of her life. Thus it is not only in face, form, tone and motion that the female is revealed, but in the timbre and word values of everything she utters. In the West the life of the male is infinitely more familiar and in continuity with the female. In Japan familiarity is more the exception than the rule; the man goes on his pleasures alone or with companions of his own sex; the woman is for ever in the house, a possession to be used and an object that is expected to be always in its place.

When Japanese ladies visit countries of the West but little difference may be remarked in their behaviour from that of the native women, but upon her return to Japan she goes back to her hereditary position of subservience within the family group. It rarely falls within the destiny of a Nippon woman to behold the flattering spectacle of a male bowing before her to open the door of a room or of a house. It is she who is expected to perform all such menial operations. It is not for her

even to think of walking before her lord ; her place is behind and her duty is to follow. Hundreds of years have bred within her the attitude of obedience and of resigned and unquestioning submission to the male, who holds the immediate charge of her fate within his hands. To assert that she is good, in all its senses, is but to affirm that the sun is warm. For fifteen years I lived among them and for over fourteen have enjoyed the privilege of possessing one of them as wife. Such experience of hourly intimate association with various types of Japanese womanhood is independent of theory. I cannot say that the average Japanese woman is brilliant in mind ; such an impression would be false. She is not brilliant because she is not allowed to be so. When, however, in the rare cases that the mind is freed from its exterior veil, it is gratifyingly surprising to behold the deep intelligence beneath. This is borne out by the present-day competitive examinations between male and female. Statistics of these competitions organised by the Government offices, and by large commercial corporations in their search for outstanding ability among prospective employees, definitely prove that the mentality, basically and fundamentally, of the Japanese woman is on a far higher scale than that of the men.

II. Woman in the Home

In the strata of Japanese society that may be termed refined the essentials of a wife's duties are : first, the care of the husband ; second, the care of the children ; third, the care of the home ; fourth, the study of the *Rei* ; fifth, the study of an art named "flower ceremony" ; and sixth, knowledge of the functional ritual called "tea ceremony." The last requirement is not universal and is practised principally among those homes that lay claim to a local reputation for classical highbrowism.

In this delineation of wifely duties and accomplishments the first is distinctly and dogmatically the most

important. It is the alpha of a married woman's functions. If it is not carried out with the utmost meticulousness, attention will soon be called to this by the domestic lord. There is probably no male in all creation so much waited upon and demanding so much attention from his wife as the Japanese husband. Whatever characteristics may have evolved with the advent of Western civilisation, this expectation of wifely devotion is apparent from early boyhood until senility. Within the normal Japanese home when the lord is present there is much calling and clapping of hands. Even when an object is within the reach of his hand he will not deign to stretch out and get it for himself. He is unable, and his mental make-up is unaccustomed, to envisage either the reasonableness or the thought of such an exigency. With almost the whole range of classes of Japanese husbands such a uniformity of domestic outlook is representative of the national male state of mind ; but if the female ventured to exhibit even a minute quantity of that aspect, she would very soon come to be looked upon as mentally deranged.

The only outlet for the emotions of the Japanese woman is through her child. Her love for her offspring is almost tantamount to a creed or faith, or a cult of religion. It is the only channel through which she can send her natural pent-up affections. Her husband rarely asks and rarely thinks of such a sentiment as love, that is in the Western sense. There is no real equivalent expression for such love in the whole of the Japanese language. There is a clear-cut word, and a still more unmistakable ideographic script, that conveys the direct idea of physical-sexual contact between male and female. It is this word that is used in the translations of English novels and the average Japanese cannot understand why such tales nearly always end up in marriage. To them they appear obscene. Their mental association of the word is between a man and a lover, or a man and a prostitute. In a wordless, letterless, moral-lawlessness olla podrida belief such as Shinto

there is neither a spoken sound nor a written form for either the higher moral values in love or the absence of them in sin. The main impressions held in the Japanese mind of both these concepts, so distinctly categorised in the mind of the West, is that the one is a contact between the two sexes and the other some action of crime. It takes years for the Christian missionary to convey the differentiation between sin and crime, in other words to show that there is a difference between a sin against God and a crime against the law. But in that endless realm to which we apply the term psychiatry the Japanese woman is fully capable of experiencing love without even possessing a word in her own language that could explain such an emotion. The causes that create such a largesse of this feeling in the heart of a Japanese woman are easy to find. Love is her only staple interest, and it has ever been so since she first became aware of her sex. Her man may have a hundred outlets for the energies of both his mind and body. The woman puts all her mind and energies into the human form that is her child. The husband sees in his boy the inheritor of his name and house, the mind that will carry on his work, or possibly the body that may fall in the sacred cause of his country. The mother sees her own soul within the eyes and being of the offspring of her body. Her man may not even wish his wife to love him, her child cannot resist. The man may be dynamic in his repulse of such delicate, or in his eyes indelicate, emotion, the child is static and receptive. The love of the child is, too, more or less secured to her by the Confucian ethics that are dovetailed into the concepts of Shinto. Love then, inexplicable and without distinctiveness of form in her own tongue, without any sort of garb of scientific-psychological cut, exists within her in astonishing abundance, and is gladly, unselfishly and devotedly given to the one who gives it in return.

There are, probably nowhere else in the world, women capable of offering so much love and affection as the Japanese. After marriage it needs but a tiny seedling

in the rich soil of a woman's heart to produce a lasting and complete devotion to the Japanese husband. Neither poverty, sickness or separation will ever quench this love. She is capable of a tenderness that is unbelievable in Western eyes, but the Japanese husband seldom seeks to inspire this ardour. His wife is an unpaid housekeeper and a producer of children. His pleasures are taken without her company ; his love, in the strictest Japanese sense, in the person of his concubine or with a prostitute.

Thus the moral envisagement of a married woman in Japan has its counterpart in no other corner of the globe. At the marriage service the woman covers herself with a white kimono robe. In Japan white is the colour of death. With marriage she is dead to everybody and everything outside her husband, indeed until recent times the bride blacked her teeth with a view to making herself as unattractive as possible to other men. At one time if she was found to have committed adultery the punishment was death. This aspect and understanding of the marriage state are still strong within the female Japanese mind and are entirely separate and apart from the fact of loving or not loving her husband. I do not say that the women do not harbour secret longings and love for another man, who may have won the affection owing to the husband's habit of checking any sign of sentimental emotion, for such is the case undoubtedly, but any overt demonstration in such cases calls for the sacrifice of the whole family, and turns the principal actress into a social outcast. The male will, in all probability, clear himself of any scandal as a result of such a liaison, but the woman will never be allowed to forget her moment of indiscretion. Although the law of fidelity for the wife is of such an uncompromising nature and gives no latitude to the woman taken in sin, the male is entirely free to follow every whim in this matter. In fact the wife almost comes to expect the husband to have his "affaires." He is allowed to, and usually does, keep concubines, provided that his income

is sufficiently large. He is in no way regulated as to numbers and may keep as many as his purse or his body justifies. He may change, increase or decrease his harem at will. Seven years ago the Bureau of the Imperial Household took a census of 984 peerage families. Many of their legal consorts were found to be nominal, the lords residing with their concubines. The census indicated that polygamy has by no means declined, especially among the aristocracy. It was found that 60 per cent of the children legitimatised were born of women not legally married. This state of immorality would not matter were the Japanese women merely primitive, but I have already said that she is much more intelligent than the average man. She is subject to all the jealousies and humiliated feelings of a woman from the West. She is equally refined and delicate, and only her sense of duty forces her to make no protest. Again the race-cult of Shinto is responsible to a large degree. The woman is instilled with the same patriotic fervour as the man; she has the identical awareness of Japan's greatness and divine right, and by her submission to the will of the stronger physical being she believes that she is doing what will enhance Japan. Her tragedy is the coarseness inherent in all the men of Nippon. His love of cruelty and bloodshed has obliterated all sense of delicacy. His abominable ego knows no bounds, either of logic or reason. He may bring a geisha or a joro (prostitute) into the very home where his wife is slaving for his every comfort. He will demand that she wait on his guests. He may even order her to prepare a bed for himself and his momentary innamorata, and have his wife stand by for any call or hand-clapping. She will be told to heat up another bottle of rice wine and bring it to the bedside, knowing that its only purpose is to revive the lascivious appetite of her man. Disobedience may spell divorce. Her husband has the power to divorce her by merely telling her to go, although usually it is achieved by giving her the three lines of vertical script. For a woman no disgrace can be greater. She has to

return to her parents, and to her anything is more bearable. I can never forget the first time I witnessed the spectacle of a newly married girl waiting outside the bedroom door or screen for the clap of her husband's hands. She was just sixteen, her mind was that of a child. She had achieved what she thought was success by marrying a wealthy merchant. She was proud of herself, proud of her home, of her husband. She offered him a kind of hero-worship. She was determined to have a boy child as soon as possible. She had only been married a week when the husband brought home a prostitute. He had ordered her to prepare the bed and wait outside. When I saw her she was kneeling on a little rice-straw mat, swaying backwards and forwards. She was moaning and shivering all over. Her hands were tightly clenched, and each time she swayed forward she knocked her head against the floor three times. It seemed to me that she was trying to beat the thoughts out of her head. Suddenly boiling, blistering tears welled up in her eyes and poured down her cheeks. She bit her lips to force them back and blood trickled down the corners of her mouth. She caught hold of the end of her kimono and twisted it feverishly. Then she pushed it into her trembling mouth to stifle a scream of agony. . . . My presence apparently caused some offence to the husband and I did not venture to call again for over half a year. When I did so by some trick of fate the same thing was happening. This time she was quietly reading a paper, and on seeing me, after the formal bowing, she got up and ran forward, smiling, to welcome me. . . . She had learned that her duty was to obey.

Obedience has always been the gospel of the woman's life in Japan. It is her rigid cult all through her life in every corner of the Empire and in every class or stage. It is not given to the woman to question her destiny ; she has no right to ask " why ? " However late her husband may be at night, she can never leave a note to say that she felt weary or that her head ached. All

night she must listen for the steps of her husband and be ready to carry out any whim that alcohol may have inspired. The male conception of proprietorship over the woman is a mental element which the Western mind finds difficulty in grasping to its fullest extent. I must confess myself to have been completely overwhelmed when I first realised the extent to which the sense of physical and psychological ownership was carried. I am going to repeat one particular case as illustrative of thousands of others. The story appeared in *The Mainichi*, and the writer was Mr. Sato.

"Yoshiko was twenty-eight years old when she was sent to the public home for the insane. She must have been born under an unlucky star for she was never happy. Her marriage at the age of nineteen to a merchant seemed to her at last to have opened the gate of fortune to her. By the time that she became a mother the man had added liaison to his pleasures. Not satisfied with keeping concubines elsewhere he dared the outrage of bringing one home and made her live as his spouse. Reckless spending and chronic indolence soon exhausted the wealth of the family. Now was the time, thought Yoshiko, to show the real worth of a faithful wife. Modestly and pleasantly she spoke to her man. She told him that she had come to the conclusion that she ought not to stay at home and let him alone worry about the living. She wanted to earn money. Yoshiko saw a strange expression creep into her husband's worried visage; he even seemed to suffer a pang of conscience. She felt ready to throw herself into his arms, he must be fond of her, she thought, if he didn't want her to work. 'I appreciate your sacrifice to help me out of the difficulty,' he said. 'But are you really ready to do anything I ask?' Yoshiko was brimming over with happiness, and assured him that nothing was beyond her. 'Let me,' said her husband, 'let me then sell you as a prostitute.' Yoshiko said nothing, but gazed at her husband."

She was not in the joroya long before she went mad.

Someone went to see her in the asylum, but she was completely insane. She was reliving her pre-marriage period, when she was learning the Rei and the tea ceremony. They told me she was babbling to herself. Over and over again she repeated: "He's a nice man, he's a merchant. I know I shall love him." Then she was practising pouring tea, teaching herself again. "Pour the tea. Careful, careful! Left hand under the pot, point of thumb elevated—I know I shall love him."

Yoshiko may have been the charming and dainty lady you admired so much in London, Paris, Berlin or Washington. The very woman whom the fat smiling and polite Japanese helped into the car. She is one of thousands. Unhappily only a few of them go mad.

Japan is distinctly a man's country. This is proven by the fact that the relation between man and woman is most strict in the highest strata of society. This strictness eases as it passes down the ranks of classes. Even so everything that smacks of menial labour is carried out by the woman. It is she who pays the bill in a restaurant; only where her physical disability proves her incapable will the man step in. Patience and suffering mostly form the beginning and the end of the life of a woman of Japan, where the male is king and the female, "pulled by some mighty power goes tottering along."

III. The Rei Forms

This section of the teachings of Confucius has through the centuries become a part of Japanese life. There is something that cannot be expressed in the essence of the rei. There is even something in them that is weird. To the first-time beholder the impression is of something exquisite in the repeated bowing of the body and of the head down to the rice-mat. I have seen Western people so delighted and impressed by this form of exterior courtesy as to appear almost hypnotised. But hidden within this apparent delicacy there is a force that is dangerous, a species of jiu-jitsu in courtesy of

speech and motion. Those carefully balanced and refined movements are often used as a subtle means of mental torture, and are capable of driving those less expert with the forms into a state of mind bordering on hysteria. A knowledge of the courtesies of the rei is part of the training of every Japanese woman who makes claim to culture. It is the demand of fashion, and society, parents, and above all the husband, insist upon some cognisance of these signs of breeding and good manners. A lady with a reputation for negligence in this matter brings a stigma and reproach upon herself and upon her whole house and family.

The rei not only cover and include all forms of ceremony and courtesy in speech and in bowing, but in the cult forms are used to express the Confucian gradations of respect to all in authority. Naturally the highest form applies to the honour, respect and courtesy to the Emperor. This demand thus necessitates the uses of grades in forms of address, and the words are assorted into categories and the motions into qualities, each allotted to the class of the person addressed. The categorisation is attained by the use of polite verbs and adjectives and honorifics in speech and by deeper and more careful and generous movements of the body in bowing. The polite verbs are often the bane of the student of Japanese language, as words, expressing exactly the same action and meaning, are totally different in sound and in conjugation. If a Japanese said "the Emperor went to Kyoto," in the same way as "the murderer went to the scaffold" he would, in all probability, be arrested on the charge of dangerous thoughts, and his guilt would be proved by that one remark. The danger to the Western mind lies in the fact that these forms of courtesy are usually exaggerated when the vis-a-vis is an enemy. Thus if asking for time to pay a debt, a refusal would be met with, if anything, politer forms than the granting of a moratorium. Sarcasm is not the reason for this but centuries of tradition. There is no evidence in history to show whether this has

developed from the Japanese love of revenge or vice versa, but there is no doubt that a Japanese, bent on murder, will approach his task with a smile on his face.

It is these rei that give the world through tourists the impression of an exquisite race. A foreigner may be insulted deeply without realising it. He may be offered the courtesy forms due to the lowest possible man, and yet his vanity is tickled by the bowing Japanese. The Imperial police go out of their way to insult the foreigner, with a view to making a show of him in the eyes of the community. Thus it is a means to enhance Japan. As the rei is part of Shinto so are they used to increase the fetish of the race-cult. Never have rei been so carefully taught as they are to-day. Through its women Japan finds favour in the eyes of the world and wins the name of the land of the lotus flower, the land of cherry blossom. The powers that be recognise that this veneer is hypnotic to the Westerner, that it forms a cloud behind which he will not trouble to look. It is a lacquer which pleases the eye.

IV. Women in Industry

In speaking of women in industry I am going to concentrate on one particular section, that of silk and cotton manufacture. I cannot discuss the efficiency or methods of production in relation to those of the West, but I can compare the conditions under which the two countries compete. As a beginning it would be well to consider the inroads that Japan is making upon European and American markets. I am going to quote certain passages from the speech of Mr. Samuel Courtauld, made to the shareholders of his company last March. He remarks that "the growth of the Japanese rayon industry has been phenomenally rapid. Six years ago her production for the year was about 5,500,000 lb., or 4 per cent of the world's total output, and she stood ninth in the list of producing countries. In 1932 her production was about 68,000,000 lb., or 13 per cent of

the world's output, and she has stepped into fourth place. . . . Japan is not only capturing Eastern markets but she is beginning to import rayon yarn into Europe, while her competition in woven goods, both rayon and cotton, is something which Lancashire already feels to its cost. Her low wages, longer working hours and primitive living conditions, coupled with the depreciation of her currency, make it impossible for Western nations to compete with her on ordinary terms. . . . It is in the last degree necessary that European and American statesmen should realise the extent of the danger. . . . Whereas Japan's exports of rayon fabrics increased ninefold in five years, British exports diminished by two-thirds in the same time. In other words, I wish to insist particularly on the imminent danger to European markets. . . . I will give you some comparative figures of English and Japanese wages in the textile industry. These figures are obtained from official sources. . . . In 1932 women workers in the Japanese cotton and silk manufacturing industries were receiving wages varying from about one and a seventh to one and a fifth pence per hour. In these industries a higher proportion of women is employed than with us."

I am not quoting this speech for the purposes of raising a political economic discussion, nor am I at this point advocating a tariff or embargo on Japanese goods. Mr. Courtauld has made a very fair commentary on the comparative conditions between the two countries, fair that is from Japan's point of view. His figures for the wages of the women are high, even considering only those women that are paid. From my observations the average female worker, that is, paid worker, in Japanese mills does not get one and a seventh pence per hour. There are workers of all ages and the youngest may be only six or seven years old. Now the latter definitely do not receive at anything like this rate. Threepence a day is the absolute maximum, and a day consists of from twelve hours upwards. The figures in the speech are claimed to be official, and I must mention that in

Japan there are specimen factories. Factories where the workers are looked after especially well and which are kept for the exclusive purpose of exhibition to the official tourist. In the same way there are prisons, schools of correction and anything that the foreigner is likely to wish to see run on lines for his special benefit. I can say with absolute certainty that the female worker in cotton and silk mills is paid at a rate well under one penny per hour.

I have mentioned the factories reserved for the inquisitive tourist, the ignorant "cruiser," the special writer or correspondent, the "name" sent out by some paper on Fleet Street. These people, who spend anything from one day to three months in Japan, return home and write or speak as experts. On June 7th of this year an article appeared in *The Daily Mail* called: "Has Lancashire a Chance?" It was by Mr. G. Ward Price and ran: "I have been investigating the strength of the Japanese competition which is swamping the overseas markets of our cotton trade. . . . Such ideas as: Japanese manufacturers . . . are receiving Government subsidies; . . . that they are employing sweated and discontented labour—are complete illusions. . . . 'Tell me frankly what, in your opinion, is wrong with Lancashire?' I asked Mr. Risaburo Toyoda. 'First of all, the financial condition of your factories is bad,' he said . . .

'This Toyoda mill is working six full days a week, with two shifts of nine hours each. . . . The girls are paid from sixpence a day as apprentices . . . at the age of 18, up to 1s. 10½d. for a highly skilled weaver of 17 or 18. . . .

"The cost to the company of thus boarding and lodging their staff works out at just over 8s. per head per week, which must be added to the wage bill. . . .

"They live in dormitories. . . . There are flowers in these rooms; sometimes a gramophone, and books on little dwarf tables. . . .

"Both mills had a fine tiled Japanese bath which all the girls use daily, and there are dressing-rooms with

. . . large mirrors before which those pretty little, plump, pink-faced flappers . . .”

So much for the bombastic nonsense of Mr. Ward Price. Let us turn to another authority—a native of Japan, who has been one of those “pretty little, plump, pink-faced flappers.”

She is Mrs. Tsuneko Akamatsu, Chief of the Women's Labour Federation. She gave an interview to *The Japanese Weekly Chronicle*, and, speaking of production of cotton piece goods in Japan, said: “The figures for exports for the last three years are 1,571,825,000 yards in 1930, 1,413,780,000 in 1931 and 2,031,722,000 in 1932. During last year the number of spindles in Japan was increased by over half a million, and it was then anticipated that there would be a further increase of a million this year. The present prosperity of this export trade is achieved at the expense of the working woman. For 15 yen a month women work twelve hours a day, and they have to pay 15 sen a day (about threepence) to live in the dormitory of the factory. . . . Newly employed women get only 25 sen a day and still have to pay the 15 sen for their bed and board. . . . A woman has no protection against male employees in most cases and all workers are at the mercy of their employers.”

I have very deliberately referred to the “paid female worker” in my remarks on their salaries. There are in every manufactory, in every business from the brothel down to waitresses, women who have sold themselves, or been sold by their parents, to the proprietor. In either case the reason is the same, the relief of their parents. In Japan there is an enormous traffic in female flesh, nor does it cease at the first transaction. A joroya keeper may sell his women to a restaurateur, to a mill-owner, to a manufacturer, or to a man as a concubine. An agent will make an offer to the parents for a female child. He will offer a sum down for the use of her body, he may buy the girl for any number of years. The price varies and is a matter of bargaining between the two parties. I have known a case where

10 yen was the figure for a period of ten years. During that ten years the girl will be the slave of the owner. She will have to obey him in every way. In return he clothes, feeds and houses her. She must work any number of hours he wishes. Should she break anything he will probably charge her with it in the matter of further detention. It is exceedingly improbable that the girl will ever see either of her parents again. On some pretext her owner will say that she owes him another year, and at the end of twelve months a further year, until she is too old to be of use, when he will give her back her freedom. In the event of any trouble in the mill the proprietor will lock his slaves in the dormitories until they see reason. After a few days' starvation the strike is broken. I have even known cases where the master turned the girls into the streets when they threatened trouble. Without money, without homes they soon returned at his terms. Again, girls have managed to escape and reach some neighbouring town, whereupon the police have arrested them and sent them back to their masters. The conditions under which these girl slaves live are appalling. Their sleeping accommodation is overcrowded, their food is inadequate, and their masters will chastise them for the slightest mistake. I declare that if Mr. Courtauld had quoted the figure of one halfpenny an hour as the rate at which mill girls were paid in Japan he would have been quite generous. The ratio of paid and unpaid workers naturally varies from time to time, but at present, with the world depression affecting Japan, the percentage of slave workers in some factories is as high as 50. Perhaps if all these facts were known London drapers would not be so anxious to advertise their special purchases from Japan of silks at extraordinarily low cost.

I have said that the proprietors of these girl slaves chastise their protégés at the slightest provocation, I will quote one case of thousands from *The Japan Advertiser*: "Matsumoto, the owner of a circus, lodged a complaint with the police of Tokyo, to be followed by a



PART OF THE REI TEA CEREMONY

legal action, against the family of Tarada of Kawasaki for the possession of their 16-year old daughter Hanako, whom he had purchased for 60 yen ten years ago. News has often been defined as unusual, but in Japan such a case is but one of the many thousands.

“Matsumoto’s circus tent, when not travelling, is located at Asakusa—the Concy Island of Tokyo. The company is composed entirely of girls, most of them very young. It boasts of many thrills. Matsumoto trains the girls himself. He prides himself that he makes them fear no one but him. His method, which reflects his nature, knows no kindness nor sympathy. They are trained and disciplined to absolute and immediate obedience, and he accomplishes this through the application of mental torture or physical pain. To demonstrate his powers he has given private exhibitions to reveal to his friends how, without a spoken word, these young girls will obey an order through a mere look or a slight gesture. The soul of little Hanako may have been her own, but her body he owned and he let no opportunity pass to impress her with the fact, for he used it and abused it as he saw fit. When in his cups, which was not infrequent, these poor girl-children trembled with fear for him, for his primitive instinct would then dominate him and he used to derive a sensual pleasure through sadistic cruelty.”

It might be well to consider the conditions of the Japanese worker in industry as a whole at this point. A short time ago I was speaking to a Bradford mill-owner, who was ready to swear that he knew that there was a labour law in Japan. *The Chronicle* comments on the matter thus. “*The Mainichi*, in one of those articles which display ideas much more advanced than those in its vernacular edition, points out that labour unions cannot legally exist in Japan because there is no law specifically permitting them to exist. This is characteristically Japanese. Anything can be condemned as unlawful, not because it is wrong, but because the law does not provide for it. From the point of view of the

authorities it is a convenient method because it absolves them from any obligation of giving a reason for the suppression of new things." Speaking on the same subject, Mr. Sato says : " Japan is the only industrial country among the Industrial Powers of the world which does not recognise the workmen's rights to organise themselves into trade unions. Out of her marked zeal to poke her nose into every international affair of the least consequence, Japan has come to assume a role in the International Labour Office at Geneva. Great distance does not always serve as a smoke-screen of facts. They do not distinctly say so, but they feel at heart that if Japan should put her house in order instead of being so eager for the promotion of social justice in other countries. A shabbily dressed man in the company of distinguished personages is precisely the attitude of Japan at Geneva Labour conferences. The miserable fellow pleads to the company that he has fine clothes at home and that he will put them on next time.

" ' Ladies and Gentlemen,' he whimpers, ' It is my pleasure to announce that Japan to-day has 500 labour unions with an aggregate membership of 300,000 men and women.' We at home know well that the statement is a lie ; that there exists not one labour union within the Japanese Empire. Here and there we notice temporary gatherings of workmen with no more permanency or unity than the crowd gathered around a street orator. They are easily dispersed by the whim of the swaggering police ; if they dare to resist the command they are all put in gaol. If a transient horde of this sort is a union, then we have unions of all sorts—beggars' unions, school children's unions, street-car passengers' unions, indeed a dogs' union !

" The next time our delegates proudly enlarge at the Conference on the ' healthy growth of trade unions in Japan,' Mr. Jouhaux would do well to demand a definition of the term ' Trade Union.' As long as there is no union law legally sanctioning the existence of trade unions, there can be no labour unions in Japan."

The same paper that published this article referred to the long hours in the mills. It said : " The Japanese millowners have flatly refused to abolish the double shifts on the ground that the economic and social condition of this country is entirely different from the West. In the first place, if the double shifts in the cotton industry are abolished, the hands employed will have to be reduced by half, and it will be resented by the Government which is now vexed by the problem of unemployment, and strongly opposed by the labour organisations who do not care to see the number of unemployed increased."

It is in these very mills that the women are urged to work by methods of cruelty, both physical and mental. I could quote hundreds of cases similar to the story of Matsumoto and his circus, of children of six and seven who were lashed, who were seduced at nine years, who were made to work for twenty-four hours without a break to finish some material, of tubercular women working right up to the time they died, of women who have become mentally deranged but who are still at their bench. It is the same throughout the industry of Japan. Shinto, that inexplicable race cult, will again be the reason for the acceptance of the conditions. By beating the foreigner at commerce Japan will get one step nearer her ambition to rule the world. Everything is sacrificed for Japan. Banzai for Nippon !

V. Prostitutes

There is a written statute in the Imperial Constitution that declares the sale of humans to be illegal. Like so many others that decree has long since been forgotten, its only use, as one newspaper remarked, is as a quotation in case of slander. As for the facts, *The Chronicle* confirms that " the licensed prostitute seems to be about the only person against whom the ' iron law of contract ' is rigidly enforced. Even in a recent case, where an enslaved woman sought the aid of a very

exalted personage, the debts were paid as the only means of obtaining liberation."

The simple story of the prostitute is in nearly every case the same as those of the industrial slave or the geisha girl. The parents are poor, the rice crop is bad or the father or husband is unemployed. There is not a cent in the house but there is a girl. When money is unobtainable for labour there is always a market for the body of a young girl. The agents seem to have a genius for smelling out the villages where money is very short and the rest is simple. I have already mentioned that certain districts in Japan are almost denuded of young girls and women. There is nothing quite so pitiful in the whole world as a bought girl in Japan. The vast majority have not sought their destiny. They have not fallen by the way and drifted into prostitution. Many are sold even before they are born. The agent will have the option on a child. The girls believe it is for the honour of Japan that they sacrifice themselves for their parents. Even wives will voluntarily enter the joroya to save their husbands. And behind the whole system is that malignant canker of Shinto. Once more I must take you back into the rural districts, where famine is the rule rather than the exception. Take any hut or cabin of an old farmer and his wife and little daughter. All three are sitting round an old charcoal brazier endeavouring to keep warm. The old man has a rough coat of grass thrown over his shoulders. Cold draughts blow through the holes in the paper doors and the wooden sliding door is rattling in the wind. The straw mat is stained and yellow, and the stuffing is breaking through. The two women sit in absolute silence, the old man mutters from time to time. The only visible movements are the shivers of the woman and the girl. A polite voice breaks the silence requesting pardon for the intrusion. The intonation and the words become more polite and impressive, honorifics and verbs of the rei are used in abundance. The old farmer goes to the entrance on this special occasion, it must be someone of

importance. Before he slides back the night door he kneels down and places his knotted hands in the correct posture of the rei. He bends his head until his forehead is flat on the dirty mat. In this position he offers welcome to the guest and bids him enter. With many bowings and with bent body the latter approaches the brazier. He squats down in the correct courtesy attitude. All four extend their hands towards each other, with their palms down and the fingers turned inwards. Their heads are touching the matting. The old man expresses the honour of the house and offers excuses for all their shortcomings. The guest showers forth the usual fixed and formal and complimentary phrases. A tiny thimble-sized bowl of green tea is bowingly placed before the honourable visitor, who at last accepts the position of honour before the sacred alcove of the room. The tea is slowly and carefully sipped with full ceremony, and when the formal time has passed the subject is opened. The young girl can say nothing, be she six, sixteen or twenty-six, she must obey her parents. When the matter has been settled she bows to her parents and then to the visitor; she puts her few belongings into a wrapping cloth and leaves with the agent.

At the brothel the girl may wonder at the size of the building, for a brief half-hour be almost glad to have left the dirty hut. The keeper claps his hands and an old woman appears. He orders the latter to bathe the girl and to give her kimonos. These kimonos will have to be paid for. At the end of her ten years she will have to work off the price of her clothes. This process will be repeated until she is thrown out either through disease or old age.

The type of institution to which this girl was taken is known in Japan as a joroya. They are to be found in every nook and cranny throughout the Empire. It is quite usual to hear the conductor of a street-car asked for a ticket as far as the joroya. It is accepted in Japan in every class. The higher establishments are known as Machiyai and are to be found where the rich classes

assemble and where there is a certainty of official protection and patronage. By foreigners such places are called Tea-Houses. It is here that the newest secrets of State, the latest scandal, the titbit about corruption in the Ministry are whispered. From these tea-houses and from geishas many a journalistic scoop has originated such stories as this from *The Mainichi*: "When a party of schoolgirls 'invaded' a well-known tea-house to get a glimpse of a real geisha, it so happened that high officials were having a good time in the next room. The officials expressed their surprise at the girls' audacity. Personally I think the surprise must have been mutual."

The licensed brothels provide the State with a considerable revenue, and it is, therefore, completely understandable why such protection is offered to these institutions. It is recognised that some of the highest personages in the land are interested in these brothels. Sordid revelations of the purchase and transfer of concessions for the increase of the girl traffic are things that come into the morning news with as much regularity as does the milk. Some time ago the "'Fifth National Anti-Prostitution Meeting' took place at the Central Hall, Osaka. No sooner had Mr. Hayashi taken the chair when some of the 3000 audience interfered by shouting and stamping on the floor. Seeing that the meeting might result in bloodshed, the police ordered the discontinuation of the meeting." The corruption among the members of the Diet in connection with the brothels is enormous. In the Matsushima transfer of a red-light district the "director of the company handed out bribes to a large number of party leaders. The amount received by an ex-Cabinet Minister was 50,000 yen. Then came higher up no less than an ex-Minister of Justice who received the good sum of 200,000 yen. These are but a part of the generosity of those who live on such delicate flesh as that of young girls. The elderly gentleman was somehow led into giving a receipt that stated that he had received the money as reward for deciding upon the transfer of a red-light district. The

difficulty is that there are so many members of Government parties involved."

Even with the enormous profits to be made there are private companies that change the residence of their brothels in order to escape the Government tax. These possibly are the worst of the whole group. The girls are never allowed freedom of any kind. Generally they are not even purchased but kidnapped off the streets. Here, curiously enough, the leaders are generally women. Usually they are the wives of the real owner, who dare not face the risk himself. Young boys are used to follow likely victims, to spy on them and to see if it is safe to kidnap them. The girls are taken from house to house. Others send the girls on to the streets. They are caught at early ages, from five or six upwards. Their gait is trained. Their bodies are developed to attract men. The district of Shinagawa in Tokyo is the centre of these types of brothels.

To return for a moment to the little girl from the country who was bathed and fitted with a kimono. Within an hour of her arrival she is back again before the proprietor. The first interview is little more than a review or valuation in the eyes of the owner. He weighs her up, thinks to which of his clients he may be able to sell her first virginal chastity. He may succeed in getting back every penny of capital expended in the first day. His next move is to order a seal to be made for her. It is for her own use in signing documents. Then she is dismissed and handed over to an instructor. She is informed that she must take up to twenty men daily. After her lesson she is sent to share a tiny room with other girls, and told to be ready for a call at any moment. From that day her sole relaxation for the next few years will be in the hospital, specially licensed for prostitutes suffering from venereal diseases.

Japan is known as the paradise of children, although hidden from public inspection there are numerous homes where little girls are trained to become geisha or licensed prostitutes. The number of children below the age of

fifteen who are engaged in these productive fields of national activity exceeds 4,000,000. Mr. Sato remarked a few years ago that "one reason why birth control does not prevail extensively in Japan is that children are assets for their possessors. Just as pigs, chickens and cattle are bred so are children—for money. Formerly child-buyers paid 50 to 60 yen, now they pay only 10 yen for a pretty little girl of eight. A few days ago two men were arrested for excessive cruelty to children of tender age. They had purchased some fifty little girls from eight to twelve years of age and made them go on the streets performing stunts and begging. The men were found occupying large mansions and living extravagantly. The two men are not likely to be prosecuted, and if they are it will not be for engaging in slave traffic, for human traffic is a national practice. Every year there are born over 2,000,000 children. God knows how only a very tiny fraction of them are really welcome to their fathers. There are so many ways of getting rid of babies. The simplest is to forsake them at night or in a crowd, more than a thousand are disposed of in this way every year in Tokyo alone. A great number are eliminated by a twisting of the slender neck or by covering their tiny nostrils, but by far the greater number are either sold or given away and those are handled by child-brokers, veritable slave dealers. In dealing with children much as they would with dogs and cats, these unscrupulous people are carefully protected, much as brothel-keepers are protected, by the law of the Japanese Empire. The civil law of Japan allows any one of independent means status to adopt children, no matter how many. The same law further stipulates that the parents have absolute power over their children. Hence not even the court has the right to interfere with rascals selling their adopted children to a brothel or a circus, or places even worse. The owners of little slaves generally lead luxurious lives out of the bargains they make, and often boast of their trade as 'utilisation of waste products'".

The principal distribution centres for girls are Tokyo

and Osaka, the two largest cities in the Empire. From here they are dispatched to sub-distributing stations—Shanghai, Dairen, Mukden, Harbin, Keijo, Antung, Peiping and to the islands in the South Seas. The British Government were forced to appeal direct to the Imperial Government to remove their extensive prostitute centres from the main colonial cities of their Oriental colonies, especially from Singapore.

While a Japanese woman or child is practically helpless before the power of the male, it can be imagined that in the case of those millions who are not of the race the result is even more terrible. The young Korean girls and those of Formosa are absolutely beyond help. If one of these women is kidnapped off the streets of Tokyo the police will not raise a finger to find her. It is not worth an inch of space in the newspapers. Throughout Japan there are many families of Koreans working for the Government. As I have said they are housed in sheds, paid at half the rate of the Japanese workmen doing the same job, and if employed on the railways must live beneath the arches. It is very simple to steal one of their children. Cheap spies are employed to watch the movements of this subject people day after day. Generally they cannot get enough to eat and it is not astonishing if a hungry little Korean girl should try to stuff a little extra rice in her mouth when her mother is not looking. Immediately the spy reports this, and soon two plain-clothes men appear at the hut or arch. The parents think they are real police and allow them to carry off their baby girl on a charge of theft. That is the last they ever see of their child.

In Formosa the principal cause of the rebellion was the kidnapping of their young women and the misappropriation of their wages by the Japanese police. Even *The Japan Times*, a thoroughly patriotic paper, published the findings of a committee of investigation into the complaints. The report was however hushed up inside twenty-four hours but was printed in English. It ran as follows : “ The natives had another cause to

feel bitter towards the Japanese. The belles of the tribes were taken by Japanese police. Should any girl refuse to accept the advance of the policeman, she was punished into obedience either by being locked up in gaol or by being forced to pay a heavy fine for some framed-up charge."

In Korea much the same thing occurs. Plunder, robbery, usury, cheating in land values and a thousand other devices are the channels through which the Japanese work. Professor Kitazawa, of Waseda University, wrote to *The Japan Times* from Korea that "the average usurer in this country can get 160 yen per year by lending 100 yen. He never consents to a longer period for redemption than three months. The debtor is obliged to write a deed for 100 yen, but he receives only 60 yen. When the deed is renewed the debtor finds other charges, and hence the 160 yen as interest." There are female joint stock companies in Korea dealing purely in female flesh. Here again cruelty is the background for the training of the prostitutes. "Waves of financial depression seem to be driving brothel-keepers to adopt further harsh measures in their treatment of the poor and helpless inmates. A few days ago two prostitutes, Whang Soon Duk aged 22 and Yi Chom Soon aged 24, kept in Kikumoto-ro, betook themselves to Mr. Oh, the Chief of the Judicial Section of the Honmachi Police Station. They said that 'they are treated so badly they wished to escape. The brothel keeps four other girls who are not sufficiently fed. If there are not many clients the girls are beaten or forced to remain awake all night as punishment.' They said that they could not endure such cruelty. The incidents of this kind are a matter of common occurrence in Japan proper—so common are they in fact that they are not brought to public notice, being nothing new or curious. And it is no other than the Japanese who have introduced the system of licensed prostitution into Chosen, and again it is the Japanese who are oppressing the native girls as slaves."—*Osaka Mainichi*, 1930. The chances of any girls escaping

either in the colonies or in the islands themselves are negligible. In the first place the brothel-keepers go straight to the parents and demand their money back. Unless they get it the girl must remain. Her debts to the brothel for clothes, et cetera, are recognised by the courts. Police have, time and again, compelled fugitive girls to return to their master. As *The Chronicle* says: "Any one who thinks he is doing a good deed by buying a girl out is greatly mistaken—he is only condemning another to like slavery." The debts of the girl to the brothel-keeper are for ever chains round her neck. The kimonos are sold to her at a profit of from 400 per cent to 1000 per cent and are sold again and again to different girls.

I can only close this section by repeating a conversation I overheard between a brothel-keeper and one of his procurers. The former lived next door to me, and many times I have watched his wife playing with her three little girls. They lived in the height of luxury. Apparently the two gentlemen had been to see an American film. The proprietor was in a rage; there had been a scene where the hero had kissed the heroine on the lips in a public park. "Immoral beasts," spluttered the old man. "We should not allow our young girls to see such disgusting things. Ah, but they have no manners at all, these ketto." "True," said the procurer, "it is filthy." "I will never allow my family to see such immorality," said the proprietor. "I shall write to *The Mainichi* about it."

VI. Geisha

Girls are sold to the keepers of the Geishayas in the same way as in other businesses. Possibly they are better off in this line than in any other. It is not for their bodies or their looks that the geisha are in demand but for their wit. I do not say that the owner will not seduce one of his girls when he feels so disposed. There is no doubt that they are in his power in every way.

They become fashionable and the wittiest girls are in much demand. They are carefully trained in singing and dancing. In the better geishayas they receive 10 per cent of the fees earned. They are clothed and fed, and cosmetics and creams supplied. There is little to add to the tale of women through the geisha, it is the same in most cases. The debts for clothes are too large for the debtor to absolve and she remains in the geishaya until useless. For the benefit of those who do not know the geisha's method of earning money I will briefly tell her story as I heard it over fourteen years ago from one of the most fashionable girls in Tokyo.

"We are invited by gentlemen to entertain them and are paid by the hour. Our engagements fall into two categories, official banquets and private dinners. The former may be for business purposes, army officers, Government officials, dinners for notorieties or anything of that kind. Here there are a lot of boring speeches made and very little attention is paid to us. I am one of those in vogue at the moment and therefore cost more than the others. Usually there are three or four who are the mode and the rest are there just to make up the numbers. At these official banquets our principal function is to keep the cups full of sake and to make them drink a lot. We have to kneel in front of the guest on the opposite side of a low table on which the dinner is served. From time to time there is an interlude for dancing but the gentleman must not appear to pay any attention. He may suddenly fling some foolish bantering remark at a geisha and the reply is expected to be respectful but at the same time witty. We are the only women who can respond to and make compliments. Wit is our chief asset.

"Women in Japan apart from us hardly ever receive compliments. Unless the man is very old or the girl very young personal remarks of praise are bad manners. A man will never refer even to his wife or family, to his friends, nor will he speak of any affection. I do not think he has any. A husband would be more likely to

A GEISHA



A GEISHA



speaking of his parents than his family, because his parents are the more important. If he were starving he would be more likely to beg for his parents; his wife and child should not be mentioned. Even when you call on a Japanese man you will probably not meet his wife at first. We geishas are the best off. Better either than the wife or the prostitute. The former has to sleep with the same man all her life and is unpaid. The prostitute has to sleep with lots of men and sometimes gets paid. We have to sleep with few men, and can often choose our own, that is we can take a lover. Nearly every geisha has a special lover. They give us presents. Some of them are quite kind. I am lucky, the owner of my geishaya does not make me sleep with him. But he may do one day. He gives me a good percentage for my work, he is very exceptional.

"Official banquets are usually rather dull. Private dinners are less formal and are fun sometimes. We are allowed to drink a little, and we have to be much more attentive. We light the cigarettes for the guests. They give us chop-sticks occasionally and let us help ourselves from their side dishes. We have to make them drink even more sake than the others. They get very drunk most times. They are not supposed to touch us or pretend that we are women at all, but later in the evening they do. Some owners make their girls do exactly as the man wants. Most of them do. I am lucky, only occasionally am I compelled to sleep with a man. I have a real lover; he wants me to marry him. My debts are too big. I do not think I shall ever be able to pay them off.

"Sometimes we have to go on picnics and entertain the people with songs and dancing. I like that sometimes."

VII. Other Trades

There are several other ways in which Japanese women earn their living. The cafés employ an enormous number. They are waitresses nominally and their

duties are unending. Among other things they have to keep the little Japanese musical-boxes wound up, the object of this lies in the imagination of the fond proprietor, who sincerely believes that he is imitating the famous restaurants of Paris and London.

Another branch of those women who are lost, is exclusively for girls with a smattering of English. These, who are probably of the new poor, go from bar to bar and interpret for the barbarian who does not know Japanese. Here again the police interfere. These cafés sometime intrude in the legitimate business of the licensed slave owners and on some pretext the place is closed down. Once again I shall call upon Mr. Sato for corroboration. He says: "The Osaka Chamber of Commerce and Industry has become the object of universal acclamation since it assailed the cafés as enemies of social sanity. When cunning foxes get together and launch an honesty campaign, even asses and goats would not take it very seriously. They are known to be perhaps the most steady frequenters of houses known to be Ochaya—tea-houses—where tea is scarcely drunk at all, the number of which is hardly less than the ubiquitous cafés. Not only are they the best patrons of any gay quarters, but some of them are their spokesmen—how many of them, indeed, have been elected by their influential votes of the keepers of brothels and prostitutes. To hear such a body preaching on the need of communal salvaging is a joke—it is a reflection on the pride of the community.

"Anyhow, these café girls, even if they do go with men, do so as their own business—they themselves are the beneficiaries of whatever gains their transactions bring them. With our slave girls that is not the case. They are sold to traders in human flesh, and like carcasses of animals in the hands of butchers, vended to buyers for cash. How then does it sound to hear from the patrons of the slave institutions a patriotic appeal for the need of wiping out café houses from our cities?

"Citizens of Osaka, may the Lord save us from our

preservers ! Very rightly a woman's reform society publicly asked if they were prepared to denounce licensed prostitution also. The flimsy foundation of the Chamber's social crusade has been ruthlessly exposed by its visible embarrassment at this keen flank attack. Clean out their own sties first. In their factories and workshops thousands of girls are engaged in sweated labour for pay that would not feed a dog."

With this I shall close the chapter on women. Perhaps on the whole the geishas are the best off of all women in Japan. *"Sometimes they are not compelled to sleep with any man. Some of their lovers are quite kind to them. Some are lucky in their owners, who do not always insist on the girls sharing their bed."*

CHAPTER IX

CORRUPTION AND CRUELTY

THE Japanese tell the whole world that their country is the best governed and the best ordered land in either hemisphere. If this is so it is curious that her people should be so frightened of robbers, blackmailers, soshi and police. The soshi are the bullies who can be hired or they may be attached to certain businesses. They are bearers of threats, collectors of hush money, pets of certain members of the Diet, political influencers, strike breakers, go-betweens in the female trafficking, dope detectives, ponces, spies, anything where brute strength is an asset. Most of them are expert jiu-jitsuists and are not above assassinations provided the pay is high enough. They are the hijackers of Japan, and their weapon is torture. They are the result of the widespread corruption throughout the Empire.

During the preceding chapters I have given many instances of the want of principle and bribery both in the political world and in business. I would remind the reader that the Press received notice that "if a Cabinet Minister is accused of taking bribes that is forbidden mention." I have given instances of protection by the police to slave owners and brothel-keepers. There is little left to add to the list of corruption with the exception of blackmail. This is about the only thing in Japan that seems exclusive to the Japanese by the Japanese. Foreigners are very rarely the subject of the professional extortioner. Only in the matter of rights and concessions is a European likely to be threatened, and this is not quite in the category now under consider-

ation. The blackmailer in Japan is the bane of the business man's life, be he director of a private or public company, or merely working on his own. The majority of these money brigands run publications in the financial and economic sphere. As Mr. Hachino of *The Advertiser* puts it, they "swarm like flies about rotten fish on the hot summer days. They know no shame. Insult them as you will, drive them off if you can, they will come back instantly until you tire out and make open your pocket-book. They will seek you at your office, at your home; at your door they will be waiting for you early in the morning. You can never pretend absence. They will talk to you when you are stepping into your car. Go to the waiting-room of any big firm and you can count on finding a dozen of them at any time between 9 a.m. and 5 p.m. A refusal calls forth all manner of vituperation. Show readiness to spend a thousand yen a month to propitiate all these small gods and the trouble is over almost overnight." Many will demand that you buy space in their journal for advertisement, others ask for money for some mention in the editorial. Refusal is sure to bring some damaging article in the next issue of the paper or magazine. Further demands will be made, and the most outrageous libels will again appear if the money is not forthcoming. The Press of Japan is even freer in some ways than the tabloids of America. *The Advertiser* wrote an open letter to Captain Amakasu accusing him of murder, and there was no reply. It was, of course, true, but he had been found more or less not guilty at the enquiry on the matter. There is no doubt that the police are in league with the extortioners, or at least receive a share of the proceeds. Very rarely is any one prosecuted on a charge of blackmail, rarely, that is considering the number of times hourly that the crime is committed. The ordinary journalist is not above demanding a little hush money if he discovers some little scandal concerning someone in society who is capable of paying up. For this reason the Gentlemen of the Press in Japan are despised as well

as loathed. A friend of mine was once on the point of leasing a house from a good lady and happened to mention that he was in some remote way connected with an English paper; he inferred that he knew several English representatives. At once the owner refused to consider him any further in the light of a tenant, saying that her family was of good class and had never had any dealings with scribblers in any way whatsoever. I would defend his mistake by saying he had not been in Japan very long and did not know then of the Japanese "scribblers'" little idiosyncrasies. She knew that, if what he said was true, and had he been Japanese, it would have been a matter of chance whether her rent was paid or not.

I remember one case of a prosecution for blackmail. The gentleman's name was Hagino Benzo, and he was thirty-nine years of age. He was the proprietor of *The Osaka Hinode Shimbun*, a weekly journal for schoolmasters and teachers, and had been running his paper since 1923. The prosecution took place five years ago. He blackmailed elementary schoolmasters for over 10,000 yen per year under the threat of laying bare their irregularities with female teachers. Most of them yielded to his charges and handed over 100 yen or so lest the weekly should get them into trouble. Hagino lived in great luxury with a geisha for whose ransom he had paid 2800 yen. In the report of the vernacular Press it stated: "It is feared that irregularities between the teachers will be revealed, but the Press is always prepared for the want!" Where the wretched Hagino tripped up was that by some extraordinary mischance he picked on the one man in Osaka who was quite incapable of having an affaire with any one at all!

There is one other form of blackmail to mention, that between the police and girls of the lower classes. I have already spoken of the Japanese police and the women of Formosa. Exactly the same thing occurs in every big town in the Empire. If the girl refuses the advances of the police she may be arrested on some trumped-up

charge and flung into gaol. Her case will, in all probability, never come before the courts, but she will be let out in a day or two and later be threatened again. In 1926 a gentleman of the Imperial Household met a maiden in a dark street in Nakano-cho. He asked her to show him a short cut through some vacant ground. She did as requested. Too suddenly the gentleman took her into his arms and the girl screamed. Immediately he dragged her off to a police box and charged her with stealing his watch. The cross-examination of such a girl makes interesting reading to the Westerner. The relevancy of the questions are of no matter as long as the prosecution is by a member of the public with influence. The first question by the judge was on the matter of faith. Evidently he hoped to trap the accused into making some statement derogatory to the race-cult of Shinto. Fortunately her ignorance saved her. Here is the opening of the case :

JUDGE : " Have you any religious faith ? "

GIRL : " I believe in God."

JUDGE : " The God of what country ? "

GIRL : " A Japanese God."

JUDGE : " There are many Gods in Japan. Which God do you believe in ? "

GIRL : " I don't know."

JUDGE : " What do you like most ? It is said that you like chocolates."

GIRL : " Yes."

JUDGE : " Do you dislike the Japanese ? "

GIRL : " No."

JUDGE : " Do you dislike Japanese clothes ? "

GIRL : " I put on my Japanese clothes, but the obi presses on my breasts and pains me."

JUDGE : " Why did you cut off your hair ? "

GIRL : " I cut it off when I was nine years old."

JUDGE : " What do you think when you see Japanese girls in Japanese clothes with their hair done in Japanese style ? Why do you not wear Japanese clothes ? "

And so it went on, until the case was dropped and the

member of the Imperial Household seduced the girl. He sent a present to her family by way of reward. And the girl became a prostitute.

I have said that the country of Japan is corrupt from one end to the other. I will finish by calling upon the Minister of Justice himself, Mr. Hara. He is, I fancy, a gentleman with a cynical turn of mind, for he was invited as guest of honour to a dinner given by the Trust Association, where all the big directors of banks and commercial enterprises were present. In the course of his speech he referred to Article 261 of the constitution of the Commercial Code. "It is," said the Minister of Justice, "the only one providing for the punishment of directors of banks and companies, but this law has never been actually applied." The audience were flattered and pleased. "But," continued Mr. Hara, "when I became Minister, I asked the officials in charge whether there were no cases to which this article was applicable. The reply was that there were too many cases, and that if the article were applied, few would be safe." And the Minister sat down amidst complete silence.

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As with corruption, I have already given many instances of the inherent cruelty of the Japanese. I have spoken of the abominable conditions in the mills, in the brothels, in every business, where small children from the age of six upwards are treated like animals and tortured both mentally and physically. I have given a brief account of my own personal experiences at the time of the earthquake, and told of the slaughter of helpless men, women and children. I have spoken of Captain Amakasu and his three murders by strangulation; of the debauchery of the priests of the Nichiren sect of Buddhism and the atrocities on the mentally defective women of the sacred asylum. I could quote thousands of other tales of individual cases of barbarity and ruthlessness, but will content myself by writing of what I can only term as regular brutality, that continues

day in, day out, year in, year out, and of which the whole country is aware but against which no steps are taken.

First there is the floating hell ship, the *Etorofu Maru*, of the Toyama Crab Cannery Ship. In this ship seventeen men died in fifty days from starvation and cruelty. The crew and workmen were made up of ordinary labourers, and the owner and his captain clubbed the useless men, those who became useless through want of food, and threw them overboard. The working hours were twenty per day, and the lash was used freely throughout the period. The food was foul and never in sufficient quantities. The men suffered from every kind of disease, and often went mad. If they became dangerous the club was again brought out, and they went over the side. Life in the Japanese prisons is nearly as bad. The warders, cavalry reserves, carry long wooden clubs made of cherry-wood and will use them on a prisoner even for yawning. Others are chained up and the chains tightened until no movement is possible. There is the crowding cell, where two or three hundred may be thrust in together, with no room to move and are left for an indefinite period. There is the water cell, where a prisoner will be placed for two or three days, with water about a foot deep on the floor. The cell is completely bare, without any rest but the walls, and if the man is overcome by tiredness he lies down and drowns. There is the other cell where the prisoners are stripped in mid-winter and fellow-prisoners are forced to throw ice-cold water over them for hour after hour. In no case are there any sanitary arrangements. There are the delicate-handed officials, specially chosen for their skill, who all their life are driving tiny sharp bamboo chips under the nails of suspected people, extorting confessions where no crime has been committed. These take place in the prisons that no foreigner touring Japan ever sees. For him there is the model building where none of these bestialities are performed, where often the very prisoners are faked, and

are placed in the cells for his especial benefit. The cruelty knows no bounds, it is, as I have said before, inherent. Almost any day on the streets of Tokyo you can see some wretch being kicked and trampled on by the mob, nor is the latter in mere lynching mood. It is no matter of fanaticism as is the case with the southern American crowds where a negro is on trial for the assault of a white woman. If you ask the very people who are taking part in the kicking for the reason, in nine instances out of ten they will not be able to tell you. It is sheer lust for blood and their inborn love of ferocity.

Their brutal appetite is not satiated with their atrocities on human beings, they will torture animals, if not for pleasure, definitely with delight in seeing their helpless struggles, and to hear their shrieks of agony. During dog-catching week in Tokyo, when all the stray animals are rounded up, and either killed or sold, there are some of the most appalling scenes enacted every day. Fifteen years ago I vomited openly, much to the amusement of the crowd, at what I saw, and since that day I have, whenever possible, remained at home during the days that the catchers are out. About 80 sen is paid for each dog, dead or alive, during that week, and it is a time for much laughing and glee on the part of the crowds. In the country they are kinder and, as Mrs. Douglas Adams shows, they are not quite so cruel. She says: "It would be wonderful never to allow yourself to get angry or to worry, but how can anger be restrained when one sees a beautiful dog hanged by the neck to a tree, until it strangles to death, with the family and a crowd of onlookers complacently smiling at its struggles." I have said they were kinder with some deliberation. I can only quote a Press report of a scene in Kobe. It is of course *The Chronicle* speaking; it says: "There was a horrible scene at the Sannomoya Post Office on Thursday. The dog catchers were out. They had caught two or three animals, and had come across a third which was trying to get down a drain. They tied up the captured ones, and to prevent their escaping they broke two legs

of each dog. This fearful cruelty is habitual with the men when they are on the track of another animal. Not content with this they proceeded to beat the wretched creature that was trying to get away. They clubbed at it with great glee and apparently with almost as great pleasure on the part of the proletariat who gathered round to enjoy the spectacle, and who rejoiced openly, and with shouts of laughter, at the brutality and the shrieks of pain. There were policemen looking on who, although they betrayed no signs of pleasurable emotion, gave no sign of disapproval. At last the dog catchers dragged off their victims. They could not walk, so they pulled them along the road by a string, whimpering and yelping pitifully."

These dogs were then taken to the dog pound presumably. I have not seen the one in Kobe, but I pray to God it is nothing like that of Tokyo. There they beat them to death with clubs, or they maim them. They cut off parts of their anatomy with knives, and delight in the screams of agony that follow. Years ago certain foreigners complained to the police and after some time it was announced that the place had been cleaned up. I can only say that five years later it was visited again by foreigners, and here is the report written in a letter to *The Advertiser*. "A mountain of puppies were found in a dark pit. Some of the bottom ones were long dead, they were one with the cement and gore. The middle portion was dying in spasms, wheezing and moaning. At the top a new arrival looked up at us with an eager innocent puppy expression on its face. It had a bright ribbon round its neck. Why it displayed no pain I cannot think, for its front off leg was torn off and blood was literally spurting out of the ghastly wound."

There are other catchers beside the seekers of dogs. They work at night and it is not a matter of collecting stray animals. There is a good market in Japan for cats. The musical instruments called "Samisen," which are used to accompany every geisha dance, require strings and every cat is worth at least 80 sen for this

reason. Sometimes as much as 80 sen is paid for a large animal. The cat catchers work on the principle of anglers. They put small fish on to a large number of barbed hooks. The wretched animal smells the food and takes one bite. The angler pulls the string hard and draws in a hissing, scratching, screaming cat. When it is about six feet away, the human becomes wary. At this point he produces a kind of spear with which he impales the animal, and then he kills it by kicking out its brains.

I have known cases where the people are fond of animals. I will tell of one. In the Asakusa zoo there was a monkey and the keepers treated it well. It was a great pet both with them and with the public, and it used to steal anything that it could lay hands on. The keepers made a habit of giving things to the bear and then letting the monkey out near by. Invariably it visited the bear's cage and stole the choicest fruit. One day the bear caught it and with one blow of its paw killed the monkey. As I have said the keepers were fond of it. I will quote the rest of the story from *The Chronicle*: "The keepers came in and tied the bear to the cage in a defenceless condition. Then they prised open its jaws and smashed the bear's teeth with hammers. With big iron pincers they dug pieces of flesh out of its body, its arms, its legs, until it died from loss of blood."

I could continue for ever with tales of these inhuman creatures that call themselves men. Of child educators who do their teaching by sticking hot irons and nails into the bodies of babes of three and four. Of the soshi who cut the legs of a certain actress named Miss Murata because she dared to speak against the mill owners and their treatment of the girl slaves. They did not merely slash her legs, but held her and slowly and deliberately carved pieces out of them. They waited for her to come out of her faint before continuing. You see, she was an actress and her legs were an asset.

In the sixteenth century Arnoldus Montanus wrote that "they take delight in cruelty, bloodshed and the

like." They have altered very little, but that very little amounts to something. Some of them have learned to commercialise their cruelty. I do not claim that this story is an everyday occurrence like the others I have told. The perpetrator had been to England. He had been wealthy and had lost all his money. He had learned that the English were fond of animals. He made his money in Yokohama. He used to get hold of an old cormorant and wait until some tourist came along. Then he offered to sell the bird for 50 sen. The tourist refused to buy it, so he pulled out a handful of feathers and asked for 75 sen. Still the foreigner could not understand; he wondered if the man was mad, perhaps the feathers of this bird were valuable in Japan. He tried to pass on, but the man pushed him back. He again asked for more money and then he gouged out an eye and laughed as the bird screamed. He demanded two yen. The foreigner was nearly sick and turned away. As he did so the man pulled the tongue out of the bird's mouth and asked for three yen. Then he broke off the top part of its beak and was paid four yen. He obligingly killed the cormorant. Probably he made his living this way. I cannot say. I spoke of this story to a Japanese professor at Keio University. I explained the psychology. His only comment was: "Ah, as you say, he learned that in England."

CHAPTER X

THE POST-RESTORATION GROWTH OF PATRIOTISM

THOUGH it is almost universally accepted that the opening of Japan dates from 1868, it was actually in the year 1854 that Admiral Perry of the United States of America navy entered the forbidden waters of the almost unknown Islands of Yamato, islands that had been hermetically sealed against foreign contact for the previous two and a half centuries. It was a day of destiny when the "Black Ships" of the barbarian steamed into the Japanese bay and presented the official demand-request for the opening of Nippon ports for American trade. The news of the landing spread through the Empire like lightning despite the total absence of communications. It had the effect of an electric shock on the minds of the whole nation. From that moment the cementing of the groups of people, loosely known as Japanese, began in earnest. Divided into clans and ruled by clan leaders, they gradually became united into a people and a nation with one thought and sentiment. The process of mental consolidation naturally was not achieved in one day. There were still some who wished the old feudal lords, great and petty, whose chief was the usurper, the Hunting General Tokugawa of Yedo, to continue in power. Bloodshed and bitterness were the inevitable result of such a wholesale upheaval. There was unity in but one thing and that was the anti-foreign outlook. It was universally agreed that no barbarian Westerner should hold either concession or authority within the sacred lands of Nippon.

The innumerable attempts at assassination of foreigners, many of which were successful, gave the psychological key to the feelings of the entire population, whether of those who longed for the restoration of the divine Dairi or Emperor, or of the numbers who were straining every sinew to uphold the stereotype regime of the shogun system that had served the country for the last two hundred and fifty years. It was the exhibitions of force by the barbarians, whose ships held weapons that could hurl devastation through the air and destroy from a long distance, that impressed the groups of Japanese rulers, great and small, more than all the diplomatic palaver. It was the demonstrations, and threats of further demonstrations of this powerful Western might, that actually forced the Japanese ruling lords into yielding first to one and then to another of the Powers that kept sending their envoys to obtain treaties for the opening of ports and for other concessions. Finally at the risk of open rebellion and civil war, the last rulers of the various provinces decided to yield up the reins of government to the hands of the descendant of the Gods, who had been born and held in seclusion, as were his divine ancestors, in the old capital of Kyoto. Thus in 1868 the young divine boy, afterwards known as the Emperor Meiji, again took back the power "over all the lands of Yamato" which his Heavenly ancestress, the Sun Goddess, had, over two thousand years before, bequeathed to his family, to himself and to his descendants for ever.

From that day, a peak in the destiny of Japanese history, began a new era. A new spirit arose, a new character, an ambition and a determination and, above all, a new religion—Neo-Shinto. Immediately there was a rush to imitate the West. The youth of the land trained their unaccustomed muscles and brains to handle and to understand the many bewildering and distracting things that it was necessary to learn and to accomplish with a view to building up a modern nation from the feudal ashes of an isolated land. The restored Emperor

Meiji issued two famous edicts. One was to command the leaders, the teachers of his people, "to go out into all the world and gather knowledge." The other, probably less known, but exercising an incomparably and infinitely greater influence on the soul of every Japanese, was the restoration of Shinto. From that red-letter day ancient Shinto became Neo-Shinto, and Buddhism, the religion of Japan for over 1300 years, was crushed by the stamping of the Imperial seal on a piece of paper. Buddhism has, ever since, bowed its head deeper and deeper before the all-absorbing, gospel-less force that is the controlling and directing factor of every living Japanese—Yamato-damashi or Neo-Shinto.

It was but as natural that, as spring comes after winter, so the desire for power and conquest should follow in the wake of the new spirit of Japan. As it was with the spirit of Islam, so it became with the new spirit of Nippon. Dreams of power were in every statesman's mind. Visions of conquest were in the soul of every military and naval cadet. Where such a spirit exists an outlet must inevitably be found. It was soon to be established in the conflict with China. That was the first short path that has lengthened so amazingly as to force the thinking world into asking where the road will end. The birth of this new, virile and astoundingly effective ideal soon began to make itself felt in more ways than mere imitation of the scientifically destructive forces of Western civilisation. Deliberately the Japanese began to increase their population. They set out to breed for the race of races, for the Children and Land of the Gods. Abortion gradually decreased. No longer were children murdered, they were given their free road and title to birth, to grow and to fight for Yamato-damashi. It is just and logical to say that the Japanese nation, as we know it, was reborn in the years 1868 and 1871. All alien spiritual influences were crushed, and Yamato-damashi was cherished and nourished above everything else. Patriotism became the fashion throughout the land, in every class of society,

under the guise of the old Shinto that had now become Neo-Shinto.

Presumably the majority of Western people are more or less acquainted with the history of modern Japan. Compare the present day with these early years, and examine the growth and expansion of the Japanese state as it was and as it is to-day. They are two entirely different countries, peopled by two different nations. The metamorphosis began with the Russo-Japanese War of 1904. Actually the first step was taken ten years previously with the victory over China in 1894-5 which developed out of dissensions over Korea, and terminated with the Treaty of Shinonoseki, which gave Japan complete sway over the peninsula now called Kwantung. The rich fruits of this cheaply gained victory were not long enjoyed by Japan. Russia, France and Germany intervened, and forced Japan to yield back her sovereign rights over the Liaotung peninsula. This intervention by alien Powers embittered every fibre of the race spirit against foreigners and made the Japanese people even more united. They became more determined than ever that the barbarian should have less and less to say in the affairs of the divine nation. The Government from that time onwards concentrated vastly greater efforts on the teaching of the new spirit of patriotism to the youth of the country. They industrialised the state by means of export of raw silk, by the reorganisation of the forces of war both human and mechanical, and by enriching the treasury in readiness for another and far more ambitious campaign for expansion and conquest. They did not have long to wait.

Japan had never for one moment let slip from her mind the bitter memory of the rich territory in the Liaotung peninsula, which had been taken from her principally through Russian efforts in diplomacy and with money. She now concentrated all her attention on getting it back. The army and navy, both in power and in prestige, became stronger. Yamato-damashi kept pace, and the national spirit grew more consolidated and

fanatical. The population was learning the "sacredness of sacrifice." Russia, in 1896, only one year after being mainly instrumental in forcing Japan to return the rich reward of her victory over China, made a secret alliance with this last-named country. According to the terms of that alliance Russia helped to pay the indemnities of the recent war, and by means of it she obtained the right to build a railway through Chinese territory, thus making a direct line of communication from Chita in Siberia to her eastern port of Vladivostok on the sea of Japan. The contract for that extensive branch of the Trans-Siberian Railway gave the railway company the right to operate the line for eighty years, after which period China could claim it as her property. It gave China the right to purchase the railway after a lapse of thirty-six years at an agreed figure. The Russian company considered their rights to be of a much wider scope and nature than the Chinese had intended. They acted in accordance with their views and arrived at a point where they held almost sovereign sway both in the towns and the rural districts within the sphere of their contract. The next step that led to the approaching drama took place in 1898.

Russia managed at this point to secure a lease of the very vital part of the Liaotung peninsula that Japan had been compelled to return to China only three years before. At the same time Russia asked and was given the concession to build a branch railway connecting Harbin, in North Manchuria, with the extreme end of the Liaotung peninsula, then called by the Russians Dalny and known to-day as Dairen. She also was allowed to join Port Arthur with the railway and to build a naval base there. Dalny was then thrown open by her as a free port. Thus there was an alien and white Power holding under its jurisdiction a naval base and a port both of which Japan had, for some time, longed to possess.

Even at this point Nippon was no longer merely "Nippon," it had already become "Dai Nippon," and

the dangerous disease, that has developed so astonishingly since that time, became rooted in the brains of the leaders of the Junker groups. They began from that day to hook Japan's waggon of destiny to the highest and brightest star they could imagine in the firmament of the future. As there never has yet been a real Opposition in the Japanese Diet, as the word is understood in Western political spheres, whichever group was in power made but scanty difference to the main flow of Japanese ambition. The leaders had never been called upon to study that very essential science, psychology. They had not, before, dealt with other races, and did not realise that psychology was in any degree necessary for the mental make-up of a leader of a modern State. They had learned something of the processes leading to alliances, and they had felt the result of such things through their experiences in China and with Russia. Unfortunately they made only faint-hearted attempts at mental mastication of the meaning of the word. They gulped down the fact and, without analysis, moved forward to the procurement of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. This historical alliance was concluded on January 30th, 1902. The sense of security that automatically accompanied the treaty brought with it new strength and hope, especially to the Japanese military and naval chiefs. Japan had been watching every move of the great Russia, who seemed as if she would worm her way very deeply into the bowels of the Korean peninsula. In 1903 Japan requested Russia to withdraw her forces from Manchuria. Other great Powers lent their moral support to the request. After all diplomatic dealings with the encroaching danger had failed, Japan declared war on Imperial Russia on February 10th, 1904. The tense struggle for the whip-hand in Manchuria and Korea continued for nineteen months. Mainly through the endeavours of the United States Government and President "Teddy" Roosevelt, a treaty was drawn up and signed at Portsmouth in the U.S.A. Imperial Russia handed over to Japan all her special rights and

privileges in Southern Manchuria, which included leases, railways and coal mines. The sphere of Russian influence was now thrown back and limited to the northern regions of these Chinese provinces.

Between the years 1894 and 1910 it is safe to say that the leaders of Japan gave no thought at all, and no consideration in any manner whatsoever, to the people of Korea. They were in no way concerned either with the psychology or with the sentiments of the natives. They were after the riches of the land, and the war with China was mainly over the ownership of these riches. Japan accomplished the complete annexation of that peculiar race in 1910, after she had begun to feel her feet following the successful return from the conference at Portsmouth. Those strange people, who are so far removed both from Japanese and Chinese in mind and in fundamentals, have, ever since, been subjugated and oppressed by their alien masters; the latter know no more about them to-day than they did when they seized the whole peninsula of "Morning Calm" in 1910.

The successful issue with Russia had a tremendous effect on the mind of the Japanese nation. It was beyond all calculation, and the second "Dai" was prefixed to the name of Japan. She now became "Dai, Dai, Nippon," and even Banzai was added. The whole people were drunk with victory. There was nothing that could not be accomplished, and unfortunately Japan became the pet of the world. Probably not one among a million had realised that the intervention of President Roosevelt delivered the nation from a very critical position. Their armies and resources were strained to the point of breaking. On the side of Russia there was the terrific disadvantage of sending every man, horse and gun across a vast continent, arctic in winter and with a single shaky line of rail. But analytic observers in Manchuria who were present at the end of the conflict still hold the view that had the war been continued but a short time longer the result would have been very different; yet to the people of Japan and to the people of

the world the great Russia was beaten by the tiny Japan.

Neo-Shinto now began to don new clothing. It became the real Yamato-damashi. Its garb and form were purely national and patriotic. It became the sole controlling political philosophy of every Japanese. It is by far the greatest psychological metamorphosis of the soul of a nation that this world has ever witnessed, but, as in all cases of deep and continuous emotional strain, it brought in its train national hysteria. It is this national hysteria from which the new power groups are suffering at this very moment. The bacteria of Japanese patriotism soon became evident when the militant groups attempted to take supreme control of State in 1907. They failed, but their dream has in no way changed. Its emotions are still cherished within the souls of all the military and naval leaders, and to-day it is a fact and a very dangerous fact. The military mind has, from the time of the Treaty of Portsmouth, thought of nothing but power. Power to wage war as they like. Napoleonism became the gospel and Japanese Machiavelliism the inspiration. The great Yasukuni-jinja—the Shinto Shrine where national ritual is performed for the naval and military forces who died in some patriotic action—became the central cathedral of Yamato-damashi. The General Staff building stands in such a position that the two most sacred spots in the Empire, that is to the eyes of the Staffs, are visible from the windows. These are the Palace of the Emperor and the Shrine mentioned above. On these two emblems the desires of their souls are fixed. It is here that the momentous discussions take place in secrecy. There is, in these men, something that baffles all power of description. They force every particle of the mind's activity towards this great Shrine and to the person of the Emperor. They live for nothing else. Through Shinto they believe that every act of war will be for the glory of Japan. They sincerely believe that the power of ruling should be in their hands, that the whole nation should be trained for war, ready

at a moment's notice to take up arms. It is their ambition to rule the world, and slowly and surely they are achieving their first step towards this ambition. As I have said, as early as 1907, two years after the Russo-Japanese War, the Junker group made its first attempt to hold the reins of government. The wide and deep ramifications necessary for such a coup d'état were not then fully organised. The secret groups, destined later to play such dramatic parts in Japan itself and in Manchuria, were not yet in line, nor had they united with the Staffs. But the ambition was there, the spirit was born into an environment particularly suited for its nourishment. Patriotism, fanatical and zealous, was sweeping through Japan, and war and patriotism are inextricably joined. The stage was now set for the funeral of the old Shinto. Patriotism became the God of the day, for the people, for the Staffs, and for the groups working behind the scenes. Schools, universities, training colleges taught patriotism. Thoughts of conquest was the chief mental fare of the nation. The people of the West are much to blame. The Japanese alliance with Great Britain was still popular in the country and had not, as yet, come to be looked upon as a stumbling-block to the policy of Nippon. In 1910 Japan finally annexed the helpless Korean population, consisting now of some 19,000,000 people. The annexation was carried out with true Japanese spirit. Poison, corruption, arson, torture, all played their parts. The heroes were, politically, first the great Prince Ito, the very man who drafted and commentated the constitution of Japan, and secondly General Miura, who was canonised while still living for having combined the role of Catherine Medici and Lucrezia Borgia and who was the actual murderer of the Queen of Korea. The conquest, or rather seizing, of Formosa soon followed. These actions would never have taken place if the alliance with Great Britain had not existed. Again this new colony was subjected to oppression, and it has continued ever since. The Japanese will always ill-treat

any subject nation. It is in their blood. They are inherently cruel. They have a lust for bloodshed that needs no firing either by war or rage. They can stand by and laugh with pleasure at screams of agony whether they come from a man, woman, child or an animal. They are callous in the extreme and their desire for conquest is the result of Western civilisation thrust suddenly upon them in their primitiveness. Previous to the restoration they fought among themselves. Since 1868 they have been united, but the desire for bloodshed and for the glory of war is still with them. The new Yamato-damashi developed in every class of life throughout Japan. The real sentiment of the racketeers of patriotism came out into the open. The Anglo-Japanese Alliance was the tonic drug that helped to foster the growing fanaticism, both in casqued and lay groups. The almost forgotten concept of the divinity of the living Emperor was revived. No longer was Buddhism a political factor. The country was for a short time flooded with Western teachers who built up the foundations on which modern Japan stands. Patriotism was actually the only antidote that the rulers could find to prevent the nation from slipping into a groove with the old religion on one side and the devil in the shape of Western influence on the other. The Japanese have ever had a one-track mind. Individuality is not common in Japan. For centuries they were ruled in clans by clans. Even to-day the family system is as strong as ever in rural districts. For this reason the path of patriotism was easily followed by the whole nation. Every move both at home and abroad could be camouflaged under the title of Shinto in its new form. Step by step the road of military ambition has been built by Japan. Each rung has been added to the ladder at the time when the Staff groups have predominated, or rather when some personality in the Staffs has predominated.

They coincide regularly. First Formosa, Korea and then the Twenty-One Demands on China. At the time of these demands England had very serious troubles of

her own, and Japan had found that the treaty was more trouble than it was worth. She had grown beyond the necessity for it. Every demand by Japan has been made when the Junker group is strong in Japan. The dates speak for themselves—1905–1911, 1915–1917, 1917–1918 and from 1931 to the present time. The period is not yet finished. They have claimed, and are claiming, what they call a “special position” in Manchuria; in the face of world protests they have added another rung to their ladder. The day is not far distant when they will claim or demand the whole of China. It will be clothed under a similar title as “special position.” Japan is the only nation that benefited by the Great War. She realises that no nation is either willing or ready to fight her. On this account she has hurried her plans in the East. The employment of coercive methods in Manchuria actually began the moment that she had finished fettering Korea and its subjects, but the first real distrust of Japan began in 1915, when the rest of the world was too busily engaged in their own war to take much notice. The delivery of the Twenty-One Demands ordered China to yield to Japan extension of leases, which had been granted originally for a period of twenty-five years, in the Kwantung territory of South Manchuria, as well as the concessions for the Southern Manchurian Railway and the Antung–Mukden Railway. Further they asked for first rights in all loans either for railway construction both in South Manchuria and in Inner Mongolia, and the right to appoint Japanese advisers throughout all South Manchuria. They demanded absolute mining rights, residence rights, unhampered leases of lands and commercial activities, what amounted almost to a monopoly to the iron and coal in the rich valley of the Yangste River, the Ruhr district of the East, and finally that China should obtain all her ammunition for purposes of war and peace from Japan. The last demand is somewhat naive. Had the United States not interfered then Japan would to-day be an even greater menace than she is.

When Japan entered the War it was only after some hard bargaining with the Allies. She demanded that the important German concession of Tsingtau, a peninsula on the coast of China in the Yellow Sea and next door to Japan, should remain in her possession after hostilities ceased. Outside the self-interest displayed in the capture of this small piece of land, where incidentally she was helped by British troops, Japan's assistance was mostly limited to the protection of Allied commercial shipping by the destroyers of the Imperial Navy. When, in 1916, the Germans seemed to be likely to win the War, the whole sentiment of Japan swept over to the German side. The crowd on the streets of Tokyo clamoured for the breaking of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. German generals became the heroes of the hour and English soldiers were depicted as routed cowards. Japan has no use for a weak friend. Bushido or chivalry is supposed to be the patent of the Japanese nation, according to many writers both native and foreign. It is one of the cherished maxims of the propagandists. I cannot see myself that any people, so treacherous, so cruel, so wanting in almost every decent feeling as the men of Japan, men who are so bestial in their habits, men so dangerously fanatical in their self-belief, can be chivalrous.

CHAPTER XI

MANCHURIAN MÉLANGE

I. Manchuria in History.

THE history of Manchuria is part of the history of China. Definite mention of this territory can be traced back to the twelfth century B.C., and its development is one of the most interesting sections in Chinese history. The object of this book is not to examine the growth of Manchuria from earliest times, but it is interesting to note that as early as the æneolithic time, both racially and culturally South Manchuria belonged to the same area as North China. Since the latter part of the twelfth century B.C. both Korea and part of South Manchuria were ruled by a royal house of Chinese origin. Active Chinese administration over this area began about the fourth century B.C. and was intensified in the Han dynasty after the conquest of Emperor Wu in 109 B.C. Many Chinese from the Empire proper within the Great Wall settled in Liaotung during this period, and the rudiments of Chinese culture and art were more and more adopted by the neo-Chinese tribes. For more than four centuries South Manchuria was an integral part of the Chinese Empire. Towards the end of the fourth century A.D. these tribes began to assert themselves. They had by this time definitely absorbed a fair proportion of the culture of China. They began to mix freely with the people of the interior and gradually the people of Manchuria and the people of China proper became one nation. It was, not, however, until the beginning of the Ming Dynasty that Manchuria was again ruled as part of the Chinese Empire, that is,

from within the Great Wall. This occurred towards the end of the fourteenth century, and it lasted until the present time, when Japan violated all international agreements and broke her word to the League of Nations and to America by invading Manchuria. There was one short break in the middle of the seventeenth century when the dynasty of the Chinese Emperors was changing, but apart from this Manchuria has been under the direct rule of the Emperor of China for over five hundred years.

The centre of Chinese influence in Manchuria was mainly Liaotung peninsula and along the Liao River valley. The former has always been the favourite spot for Chinese settlers, and from the beginning of the Ming Dynasty their numbers have increased rapidly. It was through these settlers that the neo-Chinese tribes in the north came to absorb the culture of China and finally to be absorbed into the Chinese nation. The so-called Manchus were originally composed of Nuchens, Mongols and the Chinese settlers from the interior. They gave rise to the Ch'ing Dynasty in China, and they do not represent any race in the ethical sense. The Ch'ing Dynasty succeeded the Ming in A.D. 1644, and no alteration was made in the administration of Manchuria. Until the end of the nineteenth century Manchuria witnessed peace and prosperity and the population increased very considerably. The early government of this territory was military, and Mukden became the second capital of the Empire. In 1791 the western part of Kirin was, for the first time, opened to settlers. Later northern Manchuria became accessible. In the latter part of the last century the movement of Chinese immigrants towards the north gained momentum. When the Russian menace became apparent, emigration to Heilungkiang was greatly encouraged with the idea of strengthening the border defence. Most of these settlers were natives of Shantung. By 1907 Chinese farmers were to be found almost everywhere in Manchuria, and a more organised and systematic civil administration

became necessary. Manchuria was then divided into the "Three Eastern Provinces," which is the name under which it is known to the Chinese. There is Fengtien in the south, Kirin in the east and Heilungkiang in the north. The last-named is the largest of the three provinces and forms more than one-half of what we know as Manchuria. Its natural wealth is immense and is, as yet, hardly exploited. It has vast mineral areas where coal, iron and gold are to be found, and its agricultural possibilities are enormous. There are huge tracts of timber, especially in the northern sections. The boundary-line on the west of this state runs along the provinces of Hopeh and Outer and Inner Mongolia. On the east, north-east and north-west the frontier meets the territory of the Siberian Soviet ; a small part of the eastern boundary cuts right across the Korean peninsula, and the southern end of Manchuria terminates at the Yellow Sea.

Manchuria is about the size of France and Germany combined. Its area is 360,000 square miles, and it has a frontier line of nearly 8250 miles or approximately the same as that between the United States and Canada. Its population amounts to roughly 30,000,000. 29,000,000 out of this figure are Chinese ; Koreans total about 800,000 ; White Russians number 150,000, while the Japanese population, which is largely connected with the South Manchurian Railway, account for 220,000. This last figure is increasing rapidly, and a new type of resident must be added to it. There are thousands of soldiers, military advisers and Japanese officials attached to every part of the mechanism of the new state called by them " Manchukuo." In considering Manchuria from the point of view of the present trouble it is advisable to include the territory of Inner Mongolia, which Japan took over during her preliminary campaign in China in 1933. The capital is Jehol, made famous recently by the Japanese siege and capture. In this district there are Mongols and other tribes, generally found on the pasture lands, but except for their future



MR HENRY PU YI, LAST OF THE EMPERORS OF
CHINA. NOW PUPPET PRESIDENT OF THE STATE
OF MANCHUKUO



LIEUTENANT COLONEL HONJO, C.O. OF THE JAPANESE
TROOPS ROUND MUKDEN DURING THE CONFLICT
OF SEPTEMBER 18TH-19TH, 1932

voting power, possibly in favour of Japan, their influence and numbers are small. The end of Manchuria that juts out into the Yellow Sea and the Gulf of Chihli, and which is known as the Kwantung territory, is leased to Japan by China. Originally the period of this lease was twenty-five years, but, as a result of the Twenty-One Demands of 1915, an extension was granted for a further seventy-four years. This important region of Southern Manchuria contains the port and city of Dairen and the very valuable naval base of Port Arthur. These towns were developed by Russia, but after the conclusion of the Russo-Japanese War, which was brought to a diplomatic end by the Treaty of Portsmouth in 1905, they were handed over to the Japanese. In the next year the South Manchurian Railway was organised by a decree of the Emperor of Japan. The controlling interests are Japanese and its functions may be compared to a state within a state. The South Manchurian Railway is, to-day, the economic king of the whole of South Manchuria, and the crown is in the capital of Japan. The demands of the Japanese yielded them unusually peculiar rights, and she holds almost sovereign sway over the whole railway territory. She has the power of promoting taxation, education and all public works in important towns in the railway zone and in the populous sections of such large cities as Mukden and Hsinking, which is the capital of the new Japanese-controlled state of "Manchukuo." In the minds of the Japanese Staffs, Kais and of almost the entire population, all of Manchuria is considered as being just as much a part of the Empire of Japan as the colonies of Korea and Formosa. The only difference, as far as they are concerned, is that, whereas the colonies are recognised by the world as such, "Manchukuo" is still regarded as the property of China. This non-recognition by the nations makes but little difference to the envisagement of a people who believe themselves divine. To the majority of the Japanese nation the seizure of Manchuria is the first step towards the subjugation of the East ; it

is a preliminary step to the conquest of the world at the point of the bayonet.

II. Chinese Development of Manchuria.

There appears to be a general opinion that China herself made little or no effort to develop Manchuria, and from this view there arises a sneaking sympathy for Japan, notwithstanding strong disapproval of her methods. This impression is mainly due to persistent Japanese propaganda, and accompanying it is an idea that the prosperity of Manchuria is due entirely to Japanese enterprise. In support of their claim the Japanese point with pride to the leased territory of Kwangtung and to the South Manchuria Railway. They maintain that their presence would have a stabilising effect in Manchuria, although, since the formation of the new "State of Manchukuo," this has proved quite the contrary. Japan has never ceased harping on the role played by the South Manchuria Railway, and has persistently connected it with the economic development of the territory. Of the 3700 miles of railways in Manchuria, 1800 miles are owned by the Chinese and 1236 miles are under Sino-Japanese joint management. Only 700 miles were controlled by Japan, of which 470 miles were built by Russia and transferred to Japan as a result of the Treaty of Portsmouth in 1905. From these figures it will be seen that Japan's case is somewhat fragile. Their contention that the security of Manchuria is due to the presence of their troops—I am speaking of pre-invasion days—along the South Manchuria Railway zone is scarcely tenable, as the total territory covered by these troops is only 14,000 square miles. It is hardly logical to infer that troops stationed in and confined to such a small area can maintain peace over the whole of Manchuria, consisting as it does of some 360,000 square miles.

In spite of persistent obstruction in every possible sphere, especially in regard to the investment of foreign

money, the Chinese authorities have made great efforts, not only towards the development of the vast natural resources of Manchuria, but also on behalf of the well-being of the Chinese people living in that area. At the close of the Russo-Japanese War in 1905 the late Imperial Government put the administration of Manchuria on the same basis as that of China proper by appointing a viceroy over each of the three provinces, together with civil governors and assistants. Since that time many other improvements in administration have been made, until at the time of the Japanese invasion, Manchuria was in a better position than at any time in its history, and was, in every respect, becoming rapidly modernised. Apart from this political reform, civil and judicial administration had not been neglected. There were twenty-seven courts, not including district courts, and twenty-two prisons. In addition local government and urban administration received the greatest encouragement. The police system was modernised and Western methods introduced into the financial economy of the whole area. Great progress has been made in the twentieth century in regard to agriculture, forestry, fishery, education, industry and trade in every sphere, communications, colonisation and mining. The present prosperity of Manchuria is due very largely to these efforts, and the part played by Japan in this progress is comparatively small and definitely of a local character. As regards colonisation it was not until 1887 that the whole of Manchuria was thrown open to the Chinese. In that year every law excluding the Chinese from Manchuria was repealed, and from that time until 1900 the number of settlers amounted to 100,000 each year from Shantung alone. In 1900 the population numbered 14,000,000 of which Chinese constituted 90 per cent. After the Russo-Japanese War special facilities and inducements were granted to migrants to Manchuria and in the year 1908 alone 6,300,000 mou of land were allotted to Chinese settlers. Famine and the ever mounting birth-rate of the Chinese people caused this

migratory movement to continue after the establishment of the Republic in 1912. In 1927 the peak, as regards numbers, was reached, when more than 1,170,000 people went to live in Manchuria. Had the menace of Japan not appeared on the horizon, there is no doubt at all that this figure would have been eclipsed during the past four years. The following figures speak for themselves, and show definitely that China and the Chinese looked to Manchuria to overcome many of their troubles, financial and otherwise :

Year.	Migrants arriving.	Migrants returning.	Those remaining.
1923	433,689	240,565	193,124
1924	482,470	200,045	282,435
1925	532,770	237,746	295,024
1926	607,352	323,694	283,558
1927	1,178,254	341,959	936,295
1928	938,472	394,247	544,225
1929	1,046,291	621,897	424,394
1930	748,213	512,793	235,420

Since 1907 the immigration into Manchuria has received the protection and official guidance of the Government of China, and in addition has been the subject of official organisation. It is interesting to note a few of the regulations laid down in regard to one particular district, the Hsingan Settlement. Certain of the governing or official authorities in China proper were asked to pick out able-bodied and specially fit men for this settlement with a view to colonisation, and an immigration office was set up at Taonan, with sub-offices at other places considered necessary and specially suitable. All immigrants coming under the auspices of the Bureau were provided with food and shelter upon their reporting at the Offices. Every arrival at Taonan was ordered to present himself immediately, when he was issued with a passport and allotted to a certain district. If a group of men chose to move together, they were asked to elect from one to three leaders who

were made responsible for the whole group, and with whom the authorities dealt on behalf of that group. This regulation, seemingly unimportant, indicates the extent of detail to which the authorities went. It saved considerable time and money, and ensured that friends were not separated upon arrival. The Office investigated the needs of the colonisers in regard to agricultural implements, live stock, seed, etc., and reported their findings to the Settlement Bureau. On the basis of these reports aid was granted. Wells were dug by the authorities in every case. Houses were erected at the expense of the Government in advance of arrival, and such houses and materials so lent were to be paid for over three years. An extension was always granted when the circumstances indicated the necessity. Apart from the official organisations there were many private companies and groups who acted independently. Many famine relief commissions and guilds made it their business to run a department with the sole purpose of assisting in the migratory movement.

In thirty-one years the population of Manchuria has more than doubled. In 1900 it was, as I have said, about 14,000,000, but in 1931 a conservative estimate put it at 30,000,000, of which 29,000,000 were Chinese. This enormous increase is due to the large immigration and to the proverbial fecundity of the race. With this growth in numbers the natural sequences of increased production and of consumption have followed. The greatest field in the matter of production is in agriculture. Arable land in Manchuria is placed at 54,900,000 acres. To-day, out of this total, 32,000,000 acres are under cultivation; in 1914 the figure was just under 20,000,000. The ratio of land cultivated to the area that is arable comes out at 51.9 per cent. In the past few years modern implements and scientific farming from the West have been introduced, and Manchuria was fast becoming a model agricultural land. The annual production of crops has shown a steady advance for the past twenty years, excluding slight set-backs during the

War years. The main crops of Manchuria are barley, soya beans, maize, rice, sorghum and wheat. In 1914 the total of all these cereals reached 185,000,000 bushels. In 1918 it amounted to 184,000,000 bushels, but in the next year jumped to 413,000,000, and in 1929 had reached the peak of 786,799,888 bushels, valued at 200,000,000 dollars.

One of the specialised industries in Manchuria is the rearing of tussah silk-worms, and the annual output of pongee makes up 70 per cent of the total production of the Republic of China. Next to the tussah silk industry is cotton growing, and the annual production is approximately 30,000,000 lbs. Chinese farmers have of late begun to grow American cotton with extremely promising results. A considerable number of Chinese are educated in the United States and make a study of American methods. One result of this is the establishment of orchards, and American apples would appear to thrive in their new environment. There were in 1928 over 15,000,000 head of cattle, horses, sheep, donkeys, mules and pigs in Manchuria, and the number was undoubtedly increasing. Manchuria is by far the largest timber-producing district in the whole of the Chinese Republic. It literally abounds in forests, and the best known are Kirin, Ksingan and Sungari. It is estimated that there are 88,798,869 acres of timber with a total in cubic feet of 149,918,085,300. In 1908 an agreement was signed between China and Japan, and a company was formed to exploit the timber in the Yalu River district. Later two other companies were formed in North Manchuria both with a Sino-Japanese management. After reckless felling of trees had taken place the Chinese Government decided to put an end to this form of exploitation, and in recent years it has been taking great interest in forestation. Model stations have been established and nurseries opened. Thus a regular supply of seedlings has been assured. At the time of the invasion there were six such stations and thirty-six nurseries.

Coastal fishing in Manchuria is confined to the Yellow Sea and the Pei Hei Coast. In these waters there are over 15,000 people employed and the annual output of fish is valued at 8,000,000 dollars.

In the administration and guidance of three subjects mentioned, that is agriculture, forestry and fishing, the Chinese Government established various institutions. In the first place there is the Department of Industry, which is the highest administrative organ in each of the three provinces. Secondly there is the Bureau for the Protection of Fishing Crafts, which, among other things, maintains a guard for the Chinese fishermen. Thirdly comes the Irrigation Bureau, whose object is the encouragement of irrigation projects and the cultivation of paddy fields. In addition there are many associations in Manchuria to deal with the various spheres of agriculture, which have been established with the sole intention of assisting the farmers of the country. There are numerous agricultural experiment stations. Liaoning has five, Kirin ten, Heilungkiang two and Harbin one. There are other stations established for the exchange of seeds between the different provinces and districts. The North-eastern University has a department, wholly agricultural, and the staff is composed of graduates of American Colleges. There are several training colleges where short courses have been introduced in the hope that practising farmers may be able to attend the classes and keep in touch with modern methods.

The bean oil-milling industry is one of the oldest in China, and as far back at the seventeenth century soya beans were made into bean oil and bean cakes. Early in the present century the capital invested in oil mills aggregated 80,000,000 dollars and the yearly output was 12,000,000 bean cakes and 358,880,000 kilograms of bean oil. To-day there are 451 mills in Manchuria and the daily producing capacity is 561,921 bean cakes and 1,691,886 kilograms of bean oil.

It will probably surprise most Western people to

learn of the innumerable industries, great and small, in Manchuria. One pottery company alone produces 10,000,000 tiles and 5,000,000 pieces of crockery every year. There are seventeen match companies—only three are Swedish owned, and account for about one-seventh of the total production—half of whose manufacture is exported. In 1931 a match monopoly was formed which entrusted the Chinese Industrial Unions with the purchase and sale of all products of the match companies. Dyes, soap, medical supplies are all made in Manchuria, and in 1930 the first paper factory was established. There are four salt fields at Yingkow with a daily output of 18,000 catties. In 1928 there were over fifty flour mills producing annually 16,000,000 sacks of flour. There are large brewing interests, and there is a brewery in nearly every city of any size. Silk manufacture is established throughout the country and forms one of the largest of the industries. Cotton industry is centred in Mukden, although Changchun, Harbin and other large cities also possess factories. The one in Mukden is equipped with its own electric-power plant and has a boiler of 600 h.p. There are 20,000 spindles, 200 looms and five hosiery machines. It employs 1300 workmen and produces, among other articles, over 150,000 rolls of cotton cloth each year.

The Mukden Arsenal, the largest iron works in Manchuria, employs over 9000 men. The workshop of the North-eastern University comes next, and among its equipment are nineteen generating engines, seven electric engines, two hundred and seven dynamos, and it is capable of turning out anything from a chisel to a railway coach. As regards electric-power plants there are over sixty in Manchuria. The purely Chinese owned make up more than half the total. Printing works are scattered throughout the land, and the tanning business is making headway. The Chinese Government has extended special considerations to new enterprises and allowed them reduction of certain taxes or the abolition

of duties. Under this scheme many industrial businesses were promoted and at the time of the invasion Manchuria was progressing very rapidly. Unfortunately the prevalent idea of China and of Manchuria is, both in Europe and America, that of a country infested with bandits. There seems to be a general view that one has only to step outside the towns when a group of brigands swoop down and carry one off into the mountains. There is no denying that bandits do exist in fairly large numbers throughout the mountainous districts, but on the other hand, while Chicago has a somewhat unsavoury reputation in the matter of gunmen, it is assumed that other people do live there. It is probable that the ratio of brigands to civilians in Manchuria was, before the invasion, the same as that of the gunmen of Chicago to the rest of its population. As "Manchukuo" the number has very definitely increased. The Japanese state that "Chinese brigands are of many kinds; but usually they are very brave and determined, and sometimes number as many as several hundreds or several thousands equipped with modern weapons. The Cantonese and Manchurian bandits, especially, are in no way inferior to regular soldiers, whether from the point of view of organisation or discipline." This was given to the League of Nations as one of the reasons why Japan should take over the reins of government. There is no doubt that most of the arms of the bandits come from Japan. As long ago as 1907 a Japanese ship was discovered importing arms into Manchuria. In 1912 sixty Japanese were discovered out of a party of three hundred smuggling 800,000 rounds of rifle ammunition, 1500 rifles, 200 pistols and 20,000 rounds of pistol ammunition. In 1915 the Military Governor of Kwantung reported that two Japanese warships had landed 11,000 rifles and 30 pieces of field artillery. In April 1926 a Japanese in Harbin was discovered with 84 pistols and 12,000 rounds of ammunition. In the Second Report on the Progress in Manchuria up to 1930, issued by the South Manchuria Railway, it was admitted

that of the arms carried by captured bandits, 25 per cent were of Japanese origin.

Before closing this section of Chinese development in Manchuria the mineral possibilities of the territory must be discussed. According to the estimates of experts, the coal deposits for the whole Manchurian area are approximately 1,556,000,000 tons. In 1930 the output of all active mines was 10,040,652 tons. With the exception of the Fushun and Yentai mines, which are run entirely by the Japanese, and the collieries at Penshi, Muling, Chalannar and Laotaokou, which are under Sino-foreign management, every mine is under Chinese operation. The number of coal mines registered is about 676. The North-eastern Mining Administration is the largest in the north-east. It has a total capital of 7,000,000 dollars and a daily output of 1850 tons. The gold deposits in Manchuria are the richest in the whole of China, and their output is estimated at around 480,000 ounces. There are thirty places where copper is to be found, and fifty-eight lead and silver mines. Talc is present in large quantities, and the annual output from the magnesite beds rose from 6940 tons in 1920 to 81,682 in 1929.

It needs only a few statistics in the matter of exports and imports to illustrate the fact that the Chinese Government has been by no means backward in exploiting this huge area. When it is remembered that during the whole time there has been civil war it is a remarkable achievement. The figures are for every five years up to 1929 :

Year.	Imports.	Exports.	Total.	Balance.
	(Units in millions of Haikwan Taels)			
1909	69.1	88.0	152.1	18.8
1914	112.4	109.3	221.4	— 3.0
1919	281.3	212.0	443.3	—19.2
1924	200.6	269.0	469.6	68.3
1929	329.6	425.6	755.2	96.0

III. Three Reasons for Japan's Invasion of Manchuria.

There are three main reasons for the Japanese idea that Manchuria is their property. Two of them are comparatively old, but the third is of very recent origin. The first is, in growth, principally sentimental. It has become cemented into the minds of the people. Japan has lost so many of her sons on the plains of Manchuria, both in the Sino-Japanese and in the Russo-Japanese wars of 1894-1895 and 1904-1905 that, in the peculiar working of the Nippon brain, it has established a sentimental ownership, a sort of moral right to the territory that forms a cemetery of Japanese youth. Coupled with this is the bitter memory, the ever-burning humiliation, of the peninsula of Liaotung, which she won from China in war, and which was ceded to her by the Treaty of Shinonoseki in 1895. The fact that international pressure compelled her to return the territory to China, from her point of view, in no way affects her rightful title to the land. An unquenchable desire to regain this district serves but to reinforce the strong feeling of moral ownership. The second reason is mainly economic. In the two wars fought in Manchuria, Japan spent very nearly all the resources of her treasury. She had to expend somewhere in the neighbourhood of two billion yen in these two campaigns. Her investments in the State amount to one and a half billion yen. This figure will certainly increase in the very near future, that is, if the internal economics of Japan proper do not crash. The bulk of the one and a half billion yen is invested in railways. Russia and Japan were, up to the invasion of Manchuria by the latter country in 1902, almost equal in the amount of money sunk in the State, Russia in the north and Japan in the south. Other foreign investments for North Manchuria only amount to 76,000,000 yen. It is impossible to obtain reliable figures of foreign investors in South Manchuria from the Japanese, but it certainly exceeds this figure. The third reason for the present action of the Japanese in grasping

the ruling power of this part of China is the key to the whole movement. It is the beginning of the realisation of Japan's dream of the last twenty-five years. To the majority of the 90,000,000 people it is the paving of the way to the subjugation of the East. Since the Russian War there has been little done in the actual matter of deeds, which the modern neo-Shinto demands. At last there is a real war, where Japan is carrying everything before her. In the years previous to Japan's first violation of Chinese territory, that is from about 1926 to 1931, the Staffs, patriots and police have seen signs of something which they fear. The danger of Japanese beginning to think for themselves is their nightmare. They have the power of arrest for "dangerous thoughts," and this power is used to its fullest extent. Lately, there have been evidences of those terrifying thoughts parading themselves, secretly it is true, but their existence has been proved. The patriots of Japan would prefer to see their country and its people sink under the sea, rather than let these dangerous thoughts develop. They found that an infinitesimal proportion of the population were wavering in their beliefs. Some had begun to wonder whether, after all, Dai Nippon was actually the greatest thing that had ever happened; whether the Emperor was really quite so divine as the people believed; whether every son of Nippon was actually a child of the Gods. The Staffs, the Kais, determined that the minds of the youth of the country should be whipped to a hysteria of patriotism. They rushed their plans somewhat but achieved their object. At no time in its history has Japan been so intensely patriotic. The Government gambled on the non-interference of the Powers and won. They flouted the opinion of the world and nothing happened. The danger of the new thoughts was pushed back.

It is only natural that these reasons were considered quite insufficient to offer to the world in general through the League of Nations by way of excuse for her conduct, and Japan prepared a case for herself for use in the

League. This is based solely on economic questions. All through it will be observed that it is a matter of treaty rights, and although certain of the rights arise from treaties concluding wars, in each case it is a matter of trade and not indemnity. Many of the arguments that Japan puts forward appear quite childish. Others do show that contracts have been broken ; but it must be remembered that in almost every case the contract was made under pressure, under coercion. Where infringements or transgressions of agreements have been made even the Japanese arguments illustrate that self-assertion and patriotism on the part of the Chinese have been the motive. It would be well to consider the Chinese position in Japan proper. There, as I have remarked previously, not a single Chinese is permitted to engage himself in labour, and the few Chinese shopkeepers in Japan are almost squeezed out of all possible profit. Apart from these facts, it is only necessary to ask in each case, Is this a cause for war ?

Before considering or analysing this aspect for the invasion of China by Japan, it would be well to discuss the three reasons I have given. The first, which I have called sentimental ownership, can be dismissed without argument of any kind. It is only comparable to the English nation believing that the United States of America is their property because it once belonged to them. There is little difference between this and the Japanese sentimental ownership of Manchuria. If this reason is to be accepted in any degree, however small, then England should claim part of France, and France most of Europe ; Italy even might put forward a title to both England and France. The third reason I have already explained as the beginning of the realisation of the Militarists' dream and the expurgation of dangerous new thoughts. The second is entirely economic. Japan proper is, as regards her finances, in a very bad way. Potentially she may be extremely wealthy, but in actual fact her treasury is very sick. Even so, if a starving man rushes frantically at a huge piece of

flesh it does not necessarily mean either that his life is saved or that he will be able to digest it. There is no doubt that the Staffs seized upon the Manchurian campaign as a Heaven-sent opportunity for making the whole of the nation military-minded, for reviving the old samurai or warrior spirit. But any one who is aware of the ignorance and casualness of these Staffs, especially where matters of national economics are concerned, could never give them credit for the amazing adventure into such a vast territory ; an adventure fraught with almost unsurmountable obstacles to future economy. It was the grave necessity of finding some way out of her financial cul-de-sac that forced Japan to rush her plans. The military brass-hats of Kasumigaseki—the Whitehall of Tokyo—know how to carry on a campaign in the East, they have an extremely efficient and modern army, who will fight to the death, but they are quite incapable of administering the country they have captured. Never will they be able to guide the subjected people into working and developing the soil for the benefit of aliens. They can hold the inhabitants of the country only by fear. Korea and Formosa are examples of this. The formation of the " State of Manchukuo " was merely a bluff. It saved the face of Japan and at the same time the face of the world, in that the latter were not forced either into war or into admitting that they were not prepared or wealthy enough for war. It saved their admitting that as China was the country concerned they were not willing to waste their man-power and their money. Possibly it helped Japan by allowing a few of the less efficient civilians, less efficient than the military, into advisory positions. Even so it still seems improbable that this mixture can so act on the minds of the 29,000,000 Chinese, who are the backbone of " Manchukuo," as to cause them willingly to pay taxes into a Japanese-controlled treasury. For centuries they have feared and loathed Japan, who has waged war against them, laid waste their homes and killed large numbers of their people in three campaigns during the last forty

years. Already many of the wealthier Chinese have retired into China beyond the Great Wall. Even the financial houses of Japan show little desire to invest their money in "Manchukuo"; they realise only too well the difficulties ahead and the trouble at home. They know that the treasury of Japan proper hopes, through this new acquisition, to bolster up her resources. They are aware that the patient fatalistic farmer has pulled in his belt to the last hole. No more can be squeezed out of him, the money must come from Manchukuo.

Dr. Washio whom I have quoted before and who is, in my opinion, the most analytic observer in Japan both of economic and political factors of the Empire, wrote a long article in *The Japan Advertiser* on the budget of 1933. His discussion will serve two purposes. It will show the low state of the Japanese finances and at the same time will illustrate the manner in which the Diet complacently faces a situation that would bring about the fall of a Government in almost any other country in the world.

"The budget for 1933 amounts to 2,300,000,000 yen as against a revenue of 1,300,000 yen. The balance of 1,000,000,000 yen is to be covered by loan. This brings up the total national loan to 1,800,000,000 yen, the interest of which alone requires about one-third of the revenue. It is apparent that this cannot be repeated without leading to a financial collapse. But soon after the close of the recent session of the Diet, which passed this budget unconditionally, Mr. Takahashi remarked that this loan policy would have to be repeated with regard to next year's budget. He is scarcely expected to remain as Finance Minister to frame next year's budget, but such a remark coming from him looks like despair of any effort to balance the budget. He is not explicit, on the contrary he professes to be optimistic that the budget will automatically tend to balance itself in the near future by a natural increase in revenue and the disappearance of emergency expenditures. We cannot analyse Mr. Takahashi's feelings to see whether it is

really optimism or despair that led him to predict a repetition of loan policy in framing next year's budget, but we can examine the reasons for his belief.

"He has been stating them ever since he opposed the suggestion for a tax increase, coming chiefly from the army, and he reiterated them in his Diet speech. They are based on a vague optimistic assumption that if an economic recovery sets in the revenue of the State can be expected to rise to the level of 1928, causing an increase of revenue of over 200,000,000 yen. Last year's boom in the export trade is emphasised as an encouraging indication in support of this belief. An increase in the purchasing power of rural communities as the result of relief expenditure is added as a hope. On the expenditure side the temporary nature of the relief measures, which are to be discontinued after 1934, and the expected improvement in the situation and arms programme, is stressed. Lastly a beneficial effect of the low rate of interest from conversion of loans is expected. None of these can stand close analysis, and some can be flatly contradicted by evidence. Let us take them up in the order mentioned. The hope that an economic recovery will set in in the near future is questionable. Last year's boom in the export trade was due to a rapid decline in the exchange of the yen. It has run its course, unless a further decline is to be repeated this year. This year's export trade is to operate with raw materials of higher cost and against higher tariff barriers abroad, and an advancing price level at home. Besides, dumping means exploitation of home labour and reducing the home supply of commodities. Even last year's dumping produced this effect. It cannot be repeated without leading to social unrest. It is suicidal.

"The effect of the relief measure on the purchasing power of rural communities is not yet apparent. Mr. Takahashi mentions it as a hope, but it is a hope that will never materialise. Of the relief expenditure the part that goes to unemployment relief gives labourers



THE FLOOD REFUGEES' CAMP, CHAPEI, AFTER THE FIRST BOMBARDMENT



(Photo - *Osaka Mainichi*, 19-1-37)

CIVILIANS OF KEIGO, KOREA, RECEIVING INSTRUCTION IN THE WEARING OF GAS-MASKS IN CASE OF WAR

mere subsistence wages. It may be good charity but it will add little to the purchasing power in the sense of contributing to business recovery. The part that goes to benefit a few special industries will contribute more to this recovery. But the limitations of this seeming prosperity are obvious. It cannot continue after the close of the relief period. Rather will a depressing reaction set in. There is, therefore, not the slightest reason to expect any effect of relief expenditure towards economy recovery after 1934.

"The relief expenditure is to cease after 1934, and with it will disappear also any effect it may have on business activity. But the Manchurian and armament improvement expenditure will not disappear as he hopes. His hopes are flatly contradicted by the War and Navy Ministries. According to General Araki, even when the Manchurian situation becomes normal, an annual expenditure of 70,000,000 yen will be necessary. This is about half the revenue in this year's budget. The War Minister stated in the Diet that the increase of 101,000,000 yen appropriated in this year's budget was but a part of 412,000,000 yen the army needs for the fulfilment of the improvement plan, deferred by past retrenchment, and that the consideration of the national defence requires it should be fulfilled as speedily as possible. He added that the army would like to have an increase of 100,000,000 yen or more. From this statement it appears that 412,000,000 yen is the minimum required. If this expenditure is to be made at the rate of this year's increased appropriation, three years more will be required to complete this plan. The Navy Minister also made it plain that this year's increased appropriations for the navy, which amounts approximately to as much as the army, are not limited to this year, but are part of a continuous plan to supplement the shortage of ratio of the London Treaty. There is little chance that this year's increase can be reduced in the near future. There is a greater probability that it will have to be increased. Thus Mr. Takahashi's

hope is flatly contradicted both by the War and Navy Ministers, though neither took pains to challenge directly the Finance Minister's vague statement.

"Of all the reasons Mr. Takahashi has given for his optimism the most real and dependable is the low rate of interest. It has already prevailed and will go lower as inflation proceeds. During the present fiscal year over 1,200,000,000 yen of loans—including 200,000,000 yen carried over from last year's budget—have to be made. All of this has to be taken up by the Bank of Japan. Even if two-thirds of this inflation loan can be expected to be reabsorbed by open market operations, the remaining third will flood the money market and lower the rate of interest. It would not be so if business should expand and a demand for capital should arise, but excepting the possibility of investment in Manchuria in which capital interests at home are by no means keen, there is nothing to arouse a demand for new capital. If prices go up as a result of this inflation it will only reduce the purchasing power of the public and narrow the market. The chief effect of this inflation may be another speculative boom of the stock market, but it will only be as a reflection of the low rate of interest. Inflation would be followed by a reign of idle money. That is certain, and it would enable the Government to issue bonds at a low rate of interest. But conversion of the existing bonds to a lower rate of interest is a different problem. They cannot be converted before their maturity except by extraordinary legislation. Big bankers, who are the largest holders of Government bonds, would oppose it as they oppose a new tax increase. Even the issue of bonds at a markedly low rate of interest will not be feasible, since open market operations, which the Bank of Japan must make as far as possible to prevent an uncontrollable currency inflation, are at the mercy of bankers' interest. So although a low rate of interest is very real, little help can be expected from it in balancing the budget. Such economy will be a negligible fraction of the increased interest burden,

which the continuation of a loan policy makes progressively heavier.

"If a brake can be put on the national finances of this country it will be easier in next year's budget than later. What cannot be done in 1934 will become harder for 1935. But here is Mr. Takahashi, speaking for a repetition of this year's loan policy for next year as though it could be automatically discontinued from the year after next."

From this article it can be seen that there was a deficiency of nearly 44 per cent in the budget of this year, and that in the next fiscal year the military expenses of Japan will require 36 per cent of the total national revenue. The expenses put under the heading of Relief do not make a great impression on the minds of those Europeans or Americans who have lived for any length of time in Japan, and who really know the country and its people. They have seen so much relief money disappear on so many different occasions. As *The Yomiuri Shimbun* put it in March of this year: "We suggest that monies intended for farmers in distress have been appropriated by persons of questionable character and that there are many other evils that the Government must eliminate." When it is understood that this newspaper is run by an ex-member of the Central Police it lends an extra piquancy to the report. Now as the majority of Japan is still agricultural the farmers still bear the brunt of the taxes. I have already said that his state is, at the moment, deplorable. The debts owed to the State by the farmers are increasing every day. "Two years have passed since the alarming state of agricultural indebtedness became a leading problem in Japan, but the debts are still increasing, and in some ways the farmer is worse off than ever. In a little more than a year the yen has lost 60 per cent of its gold value; and though the farmer is feeling the difference only gradually, the thing he notices most is that the price of fertiliser tends to rise more rapidly than the price of rice. Depression still persists in the grain

markets of the world. If prices rose pretty suddenly, as they may do at any time, we should face a curious situation in Japan. It would gradually become more profitable to export rice than to sell it here on the home market. In that case what would happen? Even if the Government resorted to the dangerous expedient of putting an embargo on the export of rice, nothing could prevent the price from jumping, which would immediately cause grave trouble in all urban districts and even in those villages which produce other things, while the benefit to the farmers would not come till the next year, as his arrangements are always fixed forward: and when it came he would be expected to sink his profits in the partial liquidation of his monstrous debts.

"There is a system at present whereby, presuming that present conditions will be maintained, Debt Adjustment Guilds are to be created in all prefectures, and the Government is to advance them some two hundred million yen at low interest rates, presumably from the Post Office Savings Bank funds. The idea seems to be that the money shall be expended in paying off some of the worst debts, the capital debt being transferred to the fund, to be paid off by the farmer in instalments up to twenty years, presumably with an interest slightly above that which the Debt Adjustment Guilds have to pay the Government. This is good so far as it goes, and the Government has signified its intention to indemnify the Guilds for losses up to a certain amount. But these funds are to be supplied only by instalments over five years, so the beginning of making debts resumption easier will be very small in comparison with the total debts. These, in the Press *communiqué* on the subject, are put at 5,000,000,000 yen, but that is the sum at which they were reckoned two years ago. Later estimates have been nearer to 6,000,000,000 yen, since the debts are chargeable at an average rate of 10 per cent. It is clear therefore that 200,000,000 yen spread over five years will not even keep up with the interest alone. The people whose claims against the farmers account for

this sum do not pay anything like even the interest to the Government each year. Their virtuous frugality prompts them to get richer and richer: the only way to get their money is to borrow it on good security. The security deteriorates, but in the case of the average agriculturist he dare not throw away the food that he eats on credit, and his acknowledged debt grows larger and larger. We have come to a point where the increase of debt is automatic. The claims of those who are creditors against those who are debtors grow without ceasing. As yet nobody has devised a way out of the tangle. Inflation has its advocates and would probably give relief to some of the most pressing discomforts, but it would only accelerate the pace at which wealth was given to those who had, and taken away from those who had not."—*Japan Weekly Chronicle*, April 6th, 1933.

In the City and on the London Stock Exchange the credit of Japan was high three or four years ago or so. To-day it is on about a $7\frac{1}{2}$ –8 per cent basis. This estimate is generous to the Japanese. Probably they will pull through, but it is a gamble. As I have pointed out, there are vast natural resources in "Manchukuo." It is a question whether Japan will be able to develop these resources before she herself goes bankrupt. In the new state things seem to have begun so well that millions of Japanese at home in Nippon believe that salvation has arrived. Plans for highways, cotton-growing, railway extension, river transport, coastal trade and a thousand other trades are being painted on slips of paper with brush and pen. There is a frenzy of energy being expended in "Manchukuo," and the end will be as it was in Korea and Formosa. Japan will, in time, unless there is interference from the Powers, subjugate the people. She will become their absolute masters. She will get her way through cruelty, through corruption, through murder and kidnapping. She is starting in the same way as she did with her other colonies. Next to the South Manchurian Railway the building of highways seems to fascinate the Japanese colonisers. In Korea

even to-day they will point with pride to the roads, up which only Japanese trade proceeds. The Korean has but little trade and less traffic left. He is more and more shunted into the background from Fusan to Antung, and even in the wild scenic Diamond Mountain any chances of making money are exclusively in the hands of the ruling masters. Such will be the state of "Manchukuo" in the not very distant future. Slowly Japan will take command, she will strangle all Chinese enterprise. She will tell the world that there is an open-door policy in "Manchukuo." It is a lie. Never has there been any Open-Door Policy in any concern that has a Japanese at the helm. It always has been and always will be a sneaking backdoor game with a Nippon jin.

IV. The Case for Japan

As I have said before, Japan realised fully that she could not give any of the three reasons discussed in the previous section to the League of Nations. She therefore prepared Fifty-Three Outstanding Cases as a basis of her right to segregate Manchuria and form the new "State of Manchukuo." Certain of these cases were discussed in the Lytton Report, and I propose to quote only a few of what appear to be the more important issues. I am taking some of the latter from the volume published by the *Herald of Asia Library of Contemporary History*, which is printed in English; others I am taking from the Japanese official memorandum, and one or two from the Chinese notes to the Commission of Enquiry.

The first of these three memos. is called "Outstanding Issues in Manchuria and Mongolia," and appeared in October 1931. It begins: "The Chinese authorities have, in not a few cases, acted in violation of existing agreements. The present situation in Manchuria, caused by the Chinese destruction of the South Manchurian Railway line at Liutianhu near Mukden, is to be deplored deeply. The importance of railways can hardly be overestimated in a country like Manchuria, where

railway lines are practically the only arteries through which the life-blood of industrial activity flows.

“In the protocol appended to the Treaty of Peking, concluded between China and Japan in 1915, relative to Manchuria, China undertook not to construct any railway line ‘in the neighbourhood of and parallel to the South Manchuria Railway’ prior to Chinese recovery of the same railway. Chinese attention was called to this agreement when controversy arose respecting the Chinese proposal to build a railway between Chinchou and Aigun with British funds. Respecting the railway line between Takushan and Tongliao and the line between Kirin and Hailun, China remained deaf to Japan’s repeated protests.”

The Chinese answer to this is that there were no protocols appended to the Treaty of Peking, and this is confirmed by the Lytton Report. On November 17th, 1905, the Japanese representatives proposed, and it was agreed, that “the entire proceedings of the Conference be kept strictly secret.” The minutes of the Conference were kept, and are in the possession of both Governments. The so-called protocol published by Japan against agreement, is, in actual fact, merely an arbitrary selection from the daily conference records of possible understandings, and which, as it was never incorporated subsequently into the formal treaty, has no binding validity of any kind. It is comparable to England suddenly doubling the strength of her navy, and giving as her reason the fact that her delegates to the London and Washington Conferences had indicated all along that they wished for a larger navy. We might, pursuing the same channel of thought, deny America’s right to collect her debts and point out that Mr. Baldwin had, at the time of the settlement, pressed for easier terms. However, it remains a fact that Japan has, for twenty years, obstructed foreign capital other than her own, from participating in railway construction in Manchuria, and this obstruction is based solely on the extraordinary pretext given above,

“By agreement concluded between China and Japan in 1918 respecting four railways in Manchuria and Mongolia, and another agreement made the same year respecting the railway loans in the same provinces, a syndicate of Japanese banks was to have furnished funds for the construction of a railway from Kirin to Kaiyuan via Hailungcheng. The Chinese authorities, however, have laid this railway line without notice to Japan. Japan's repeated warnings against China's violation of the agreement have failed to receive any response.”

Here we admit that there was an agreement between China and Japan to the effect that a loan contract should be drawn up for the construction of the four railways, but Article VIII of the said agreement stipulates that “a formal loan contract shall be concluded within four months after the conclusion of the present Preliminary Agreement.” Now ten years have elapsed since the signing of the preliminary agreement and no loan contract has ever been drawn up. I do not propose to discuss the morals of the case, but as a reason for invasion this appears somewhat thin. I know little of law, but believe that I am right in saying that in England the agreement would not stand, as it seems to be nothing more than a contract to sign a contract. In any event, as no loan contract had been signed, China had every right to build a railway if she so pleased. The argument from Japan's point of view is curiously illogical, especially if taken in conjunction with the previous claim and several of those to follow. It will be observed that she—Japan—in one case is indignant, not unnaturally, because China has not paid her debts, but in the next breath she declares that she has been outraged because China has refused to borrow any more money. In the next section come more of these loan agreements, and under this heading is written :

“In view of the sixth short-term loan, for the construction of the Ssupingkai-Taonan railway, maturing on May 31st, 1926, the South Manchuria Railway approached the Chinese authorities with a view to renewing

it. The Chinese, on the professed ground of political disturbances, evaded the issue, only later to demand a reduction in the interest on the loan. No agreement has yet been made. The Japanese investment involved is 37,000,000 yen. The contract for the construction of the Changchun-Talai Railway is ignored by China. The South Manchuria Railway, which had furnished loans to the Ssuningkai-Taonan Railway, was asked by the Chinese authorities in June 1929 to lower the rate of interest on the same loan below 7 per cent. Subsequent negotiations have failed to lead to any agreement. The Taonan-Anganchi Railway was completed and turned over to China by the South Manchuria Railway in July 1926. The Chinese Government has paid neither the construction money nor the amount advanced for the rolling stock. Such outstanding amounts were to have been converted into a railway loan. No agreement has yet been made."

This appears to be a matter of debts. While England will have every sympathy with Japan on this matter, and incidentally also with China, when at present some half a hundred countries have defaulted, it is hardly an argument for war. It is scarcely feasible for the United States of America to walk into France and demand the management of her largest industries because she has defaulted. If this is to be considered as a reasonable claim then the whole world would, or should, be involved in fighting one another with a view to recovery of money lent. As regards the Changchun-Talai Railway, once again the protocols of the Peking Treaty are brought up, and the answer is the same as that given for the first case quoted.

"Article X of the contract for the construction of the Taonan-Anganchi Railway and the protocols appended thereto, provide that the Japanese adviser should by proxy be in charge of all accounts for this railway, and that the same official should have all papers pertaining to expenditure countersigned by the chief of the accounting department. The Chinese chief of the same depart

ment has up to date refused to perform his function in this regard. According to Chinese complaints against certain points in the construction work of the Kirin-Tunghua Railway, the South Manchuria Railway completed such work of improvement as required in October 1928 when the Chinese accepted the railway. But the Chinese authorities have failed to settle the account for the construction of the railway. Loans advanced by Japan by contract still remain issues of three years' standing."

According to Article V of the contract for the construction of the Taonan-Anganchi Railway, "the director of the railway shall appoint an adviser nominated by the South Manchuria Railway (the constructors) to serve on the railway." His powers are regulated as follows: "The adviser shall be in charge of all receipts and disbursements on behalf of the railway. He shall sign all bills jointly with the director, and may, within the needs of his functions, select not more than two Japanese employes as his assistants." Presumably this can only mean that the two assistants in question were to act in the matter of receipts and disbursements and in the signing of bills. However, the Japanese company interpreted this clause to the effect that their functions should include the managements of traffic and of construction. The Taonan-Anganchi Railway Company refused to admit this claim, and thus the bickering arose. The Chinese assert that the adviser-in-chief was never denied the right to sign bills, and add further that in their opinion he neglected his duty and made the excuse of obstruction to the S.M.R. Co.

The next case appears merely to be a complaint on the vacillating mind of the Chinese. However, the Chinese Government see further than this and say that while there was a "through traffic agreement" concluded in 1929, and put into operation by both parties, the South Manchuria Railway Company had, during the consideration of the agreement, wished to include the Korea line. This was refused by the commission and

they, the Chinese, suggest that Japan's objection is based on a wish. The Japanese case runs thus :

" In 1926 the Chinese railway authorities upon their own initiative opened negotiations with Japan with a view to operating goods trains upon a joint basis. But the negotiations after fair progress had been made were suddenly brought to a standstill by a change in Chinese policy. In 1926 the Chinese railway authorities arbitrarily broke off traffic connections with the South Manchuria Railway, and have since made no move for the settlement of the question. While the Chinese still refuse to recognise the Takushan-Paiyintala Railway the same line is actually being operated in conjunction at the latter town with the Ssuping kai-Taonan Railway. This question should have been discussed after due recognition of the Takushan-Paiyintala line. The question about the connection of the Kirin-Changehun and The Kirin-Tunghua lines, as likewise the approbation of the Kirin-Tunghua line, still remains unsettled."

Next comes the question of the right of residence. Japan states with truth that " the right of residence forms part of the treaty concluded with China in 1915. Article III of the same treaty gives Japanese subjects the right to reside and travel in South Manchuria and Eastern and Inner Mongolia. The Chinese policy in question takes two distinct forms : one, that of a direct demand for the evacuation of Japanese or Koreans ; the other, that of a virtual refusal by Chinese to rent land or house to Japanese or Koreans. Japanese settlers and merchants, in no few instances, have been compelled to abandon what represented fruits of hard labour and perseverance for many years. The Governor of Mukden issued strict orders against letting houses to Japanese within the walled city. It was ordered that no contract with Japanese for lease house should be renewed ; and that contracts with more years to run should be so revised as not to extend more than three years at most. The Japanese residents within the walled city occupied 134 houses in 1927. They now

occupy less than 23 houses. (This was the middle of 1931.)” Much the same thing is claimed in Tunghua, Kirin Province, Taonan, Nungan, Anta, Amur Province, Fakumen, Taolaishao, Shihtoutzu, Antung and Mant-zushan. Almost every fact is denied by the Chinese, although they admit endeavouring to prevent fresh Japanese coming into the country.

“ Leaseholds :

“ In an Article of the Sino-Japanese Treaty of 1915, it is stipulated that the Japanese have the ‘ right to lease land necessary for erecting buildings for trade and manufacture or for prosecuting agricultural enterprises.’ In the Notes exchanged between China and Japan relative to the same treaty, it is stated that the term ‘ lease and purchase ’ of land as stated in the above treaty, may be replaced by ‘ temporary lease ’ and ‘ perpetual lease,’ or ‘ lease on consultation,’ which means ‘ a long lease with its unconditional renewal.’ China, one month after the conclusion of the same treaty, issued a special set of criminal laws by which any one granting a lease to Japanese should be punished by death. The lease of land in Manchuria which was to have become possible three months after the conclusion of the Treaty of 1915, still remains a pending issue of more than fifteen years.”

The Chinese assert that the question of leased territories no longer presents itself to-day as it did in 1915. The former German territory of Kiaochow was annulled and restored to China. At the Washington Conference England and France promised the restitution of Weihaiwei and Kuangchowwan. Thus already important maritime positions have been retroceded to China. Professor Harold Archer Van Dorn, Ph.D., in his *Twenty Years of the Chinese Republic*, says of this matter, and indeed of most of the questions raised by Japan : “ As to the sanctity of treaties, the question turns largely on whether or not there is anything particularly sacred about the treaties of 1915, which were forced on a defenceless China as a result of the Twenty-One Demands. One of the major objectives for which these treaties

provided was the extension of the twenty-five-year lease of the Liaotung Peninsula and the railway leases which Japan had secured as a result of the Russo-Japanese War. Barring this forced extension, the lease to the Liaotung Peninsula, which includes Port Arthur and the thriving city of Dairen at the terminus of the South Manchuria Railway, would have expired on March 26th, 1923. . . . China might claim the redemption privilege in 1938 were it not for the forced extension of the 1915 treaty."

Under the heading of "Interference with Japanese in Business and Industry" many cases of alleged obstruction are quoted. The Japanese say: "By virtue of the Treaty of 1915, Japanese subjects are supposed to have full rights to engage in business and in manufacture in Manchuria and Mongolia. The object of these stipulations has been plainly defeated in many instances by Chinese interference in the form of unjust taxation and other legislative acts, invariably bent to the end of driving out the Japanese influence from these regions. The right of the Japanese people to do business in Manchuria will become nothing more than nominal if the present Chinese policy of obstruction goes on much longer." There follows many instances of obstruction of Japanese business by the Chinese authorities. Among what appear to be of great importance are: "On February 11th of this year (1931) the Associated Press of Harbin reported to the effect that Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang would corner the market in beans, with 50,000,000 dollars of Yuen Tayangchien and 20,000,000 dollars of Harbin Tayang currency. Against such speculative moves, whose object is but too obvious, the Japanese trade has proved helpless. There is on the market a growing number of Chinese goods made in imitation of Japanese products. Trade marks registered by Japanese at Chinese offices have in many cases proved no protection, so that Chinese imitations are being widely marketed with no fear of official protection."

I do not propose to go into each individual case.

There is no doubt that there is a certain amount of truth in what Japan claims, but in each case the Chinese have acted, so to speak, within the law. It cannot be urged too strongly that China is morally in the right. Once more it must be remembered that every treaty has been forced on China. Japan has taken every opportunity of sending demands to China purely in her own economic interest, and it is only natural that any country so coerced should seek every loophole whereby she can get back her rights. Had the Allies insisted on certain trading rights at the Treaty of Versailles, there is no doubt that Germany and the other Central Powers would have exerted all their powers to obstruct British and French business in Germany. They would have very effectively boycotted foreign enterprise that had been forced upon them. Japan has time and again provoked China into acts that were against her interests. She has gone out of her way to cause unrest throughout the whole of the Chinese Republic with the sole view of giving herself some right in the eyes of the world in taking over China or part of it.

To return for a moment to the question of the soya bean market. In 1928 Marshal Chang Hseuh-liang assumed power and the history of the currency in the Three Eastern Provinces underwent a change. On June 25th of that year an order was issued for stabilisation of the Mukden notes at the rate of sixty Mukden dollars for one silver coin. At the beginning of 1931 the Bank of the Three Eastern Provinces issued notes in silver standard dollars with the hope that the new issue would replace the old notes in the shortest possible time. These facts are merely brought forward to show that efforts were being made to save the exchange. The purchase of beans by the bank was analagous to the purchase of cotton by the American bankers to save the cotton market and of wheat by those of Canada. In the first place as Manchuria is mainly agricultural the bank has to deal with soya beans in many ways. They are imported. In accordance with usual banking practices

credit was given to the farmers against the beans, coming under the heading of "advances against agricultural products." This led to a seasonal expansion of currency. If the farmer failed the bank was forced to accept beans as mortgage. The second way that beans came into the hands of the banks was through the pool of which it was a member. This pool was formed to dispose of the surplus beans, and to help the farmer against forced sales. In 1930 the crop was abnormally high, but the depression made prices low and the European market was dull. A second pool was formed by four banks and this pool bought 900,000 tons of beans to help the farmer.

A second reason for the formation of this pool was to defeat the efforts of the Japanese who had a monopoly on the export side. This was in the hands of two firms who received from the South Manchuria Railway Company a secret rebate up to 20 per cent of the freight rates. They were almost the only buyers in the market and the Chinese farmers had to accept whatever price these two concerns offered. By withholding supplies the Japanese were in their turn forced to offer higher prices and the farmer benefited. Incidentally the banks lost money directly on the pool but enabled their customers to carry on. All that it amounted to was a subsidy by the banks for their farmer customers. Perhaps it would be well to mention that the exchange fluctuation in Manchuria is due, in no small part, to the large issue of notes from the Bank of Chosen and the Yokohama Specie Bank. These amounted to approximately 45,000,000 and 5,938,000 silver yen respectively. In addition to this the gold notes issued by the former bank were not redeemable for gold coin or bullion, but only for Japanese notes. With the Japanese exchange moving widely this naturally affected the Manchurian exchange, and the complaints on the part of Japan with reference to the soya bean are entirely unjustified. It was in reference to the above notes that the following claim is made :

"In October of the fifteenth year of the Republic, Chang Kwang-hsiang, the then chief of the Special Administration District of Harbin, and now Vice-Commander of the North-eastern Air Corps, prohibited the circulation of gold notes, with a view to sustaining the falling value of silver notes. Although this order was later withdrawn on the protests of Japan made through the Consulate, the Chinese have since refused to deal in gold notes for fear of incurring official displeasure. The gold notes have virtually been forced out of circulation at Harbin except among Japanese people, with serious effects upon Japanese business in Manchuria."

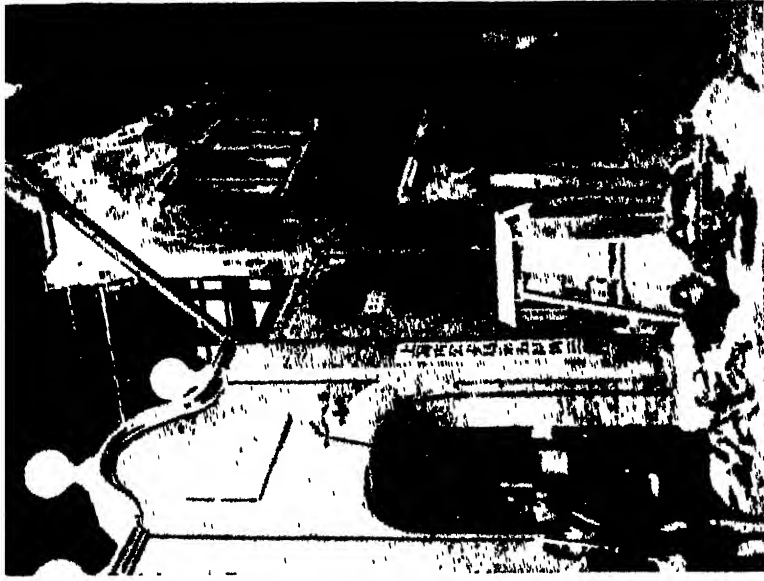
Many cases of interference by Chinese custom officials are quoted, almost all of which appear to have ended in Japanese favour through the intervention of the Consul.

As the last I will mention the railway zone claims. "Administration within the South Manchurian Railway zone absolutely and exclusively rests with Japan. China therefore has no right to exercise her police rights there. But as a matter of fact there have been not a few cases of the Provincial Government of Mukden directly dealing with Chinese residents within the railway zone in matters of finance; especially in 1925 when the Kuo Sung-ling revolt caused a sharp fall in the value of Mukden notes. The Chinese authorities, considering the fall to be due to speculation on the Japanese exchange, sent forth a number of secret agents into the railway zone to arrest Chinese brokers and resorted to other forms of persecution. Japanese protests against these happenings, like many others, still remain unnoticed."

In the Sino-Japanese agreement of 1905 there is an article that provides for the maintenance of guards or troops within the railway zone, but Article II of the supplementary agreement of the same treaty says: "The Imperial Japanese Government in the event of Russia agreeing to the withdrawal of her railway guards or in case other appropriate measures are agreed to between China and Russia, shall consent to take similar steps." That answers most of the railway cases that



A SCENE IN THE VILLAGE OF WOOSUNG AS JAPANESE
INCENDIARY AIR BOMBS COMMENCED THEIR WORK
OF DESTRUCTION



JAPANESE MARINES IN POSSESSION OF THE POLICE
STATION ON TIEN TUNG ROAD. CHAPEL, TAKEN
ON JANUARY 29

Japan puts forward. Indeed, it is an answer to everything, for Japan has once again broken her word. Russia no longer maintains a guard on her railway, and had not done so for many years previous to the Japanese invasion of Manchuria, and thus Japan should have withdrawn every soldier from the railway zone. The word of Japan is worthless. As her men are corrupt and vicious so is the country. She has always honoured her bargains only so long as it has suited her to do so, and this will always be so.

V. Pre-Invasion Intrigues.

There is ample proof that the invasion by Japan was premeditated, and that the fifty-three claims were but a blind. The most incriminating document is the Tanaka memorial. This is said to be a forgery by the Japanese, but events have followed so closely to it that it must be considered. It was presented to the Emperor of Japan, when Tanaka was Premier of the Diet, on July 25th, 1927, over five years before the first outbreak of hostilities proper. Presumably it leaked out through some geisha or fashionable prostitute, as have so many other official documents. It is an indictment that Japan is, in reality, not in a position to deny. It begins: "Since the European War, Japan's political as well as her economic interests have been in an unsettled condition. This is due to the fact that we have failed to take advantage of our special privileges in Manchuria and Mongolia and fully to realise our acquired rights. . . . I was instructed specially to guard our interests in this region and watch for opportunities for further expansion. Ever since I advocated a positive policy towards Manchuria and Mongolia, as a common citizen, I have longed for its realisation. In order that we may lay plans for the colonisation of the Far East a special conference was held from June 27th to July 7th, lasting in all eleven days. (This was in 1927.) It was attended by all the civil and military officers connected with Manchuria and Mongolia.

"The term Manchuria and Mongolia includes . . . territory more than three times as large as our own Empire not counting Korea and Formosa, but it is inhabited by only one-third as many people. The attractiveness of the land does not arise from the scarcity of the population alone ; its wealth of forestry, minerals and agricultural products is unrivalled elsewhere in the world. . . . The authorities of the Three Eastern Provinces are also awakened (to these opportunities), and are gradually working toward reconstruction and industrial development following our example. Their progress is astonishing. It has affected the spread of our influence in a most serious way, and has put us to so many disadvantages that the dealings of successive Governments with Manchuria and Mongolia have resulted in failure. . . . The restrictions of the Nine Power Treaty signed at Washington have reduced our special rights and privileges to such an extent that there is no freedom left to us. . . . The resources of wealth are congregated in North Manchuria. If we do not have the right of way there, it is obvious that we shall not be able to tap the riches of this country. . . . If we do not devise plans to check the influx of Chinese immigrants we shall be confronted with greater difficulties in Manchuria and Mongolia.

"The Three Eastern Provinces are politically the imperfect spot of the Far East. For the sake of self-protection, as well as the protection of others, Japan cannot remove the difficulties of Eastern Asia unless she adopts a policy of 'Blood and Iron.' . . . In order to conquer China we must first conquer Manchuria and Mongolia. If we succeed in conquering China, the rest of the Asiatic countries and the South Sea countries will realise that Eastern Asia is ours, and will not dare to violate our rights. . . . The Nine Power Treaty is entirely an expression of the spirit of commercial rivalry, it was the intention of England and America to crush our influence in China with their power of wealth. . . . The Minscito made the Nine Power Treaty

the important thing, and emphasised our trade, rather than our rights, in China. This is a mistaken policy—a policy of national suicide. . . . If we merely hope to develop trade we shall eventually be defeated by England and America, who possess unsurpassable capitalistic power. . . . A more dangerous factor is the fact that the people of China might some day wake up. . . . Our best policy lies in the direction of taking some positive steps to secure rights and privileges in Manchuria and Mongolia. This will not only forestall China's own industrial development, but also prevent the penetration of European Powers. . . . The way to gain rights in Manchuria and Mongolia is to use this region as a base, and under the pretence of trade and commerce, to penetrate the rest of China. . . . We should also wedge our way into Outer and Inner Mongolia in order that we may reform the mainland." He goes on to suggest that negotiations should be made with the reigning princes of those provinces, under which they should retain their powers nominally. Long discussions follow on the matter of railways, and it is suggested that the South Manchuria Railway act in Manchuria as does the Governor-General in Korea. It is pointed out, or inferred, that this would blind the eyes of the world. Tanaka remarks that the Colonial Office should, nominally, control the affairs of Formosa and Korea and the Saghalian Islands only, but in actual fact it would manage the affairs of Manchuria. He continues: "Once the opportunity comes Outer and Inner Mongolia will be ours outright. . . . Aided by our military prowess we shall be able to realise our positive policy. In order to carry out this plan we should appropriate 1,000,000 yen from the 'secret funds' of the Army Department's budget and send retired officers, disguised as teachers and Chinese citizens, to mix with the people, to gain the confidence of the Mongolian princes, to acquire rights for pasturage and mining, and to lay the foundation of our national interests for the next hundred years."

His next suggestion is to use the Koreans in every possible way as a means to get control of Manchuria. Through them, the police (of the Consul) could be employed and indirectly be a means of exhibition of power to the Chinese civilians. He believes that advantage should be taken of the local disorders at Fengtien, and that, by manipulation, the Fengtien Bank notes should be depreciated to zero with a view to the Japanese yen taking their place. Finally, by obtaining a monopoly of agricultural, mining, transport and all other industries of the districts Japan could get such control as would eliminate all Chinese influence.

Now this memorial, as I have said before, was written in 1927. In almost every important detail Japan has fulfilled this so-called positive policy. Naturally all the events outlined have not yet taken place, but there is no doubt that in principle Japan will attempt to carry them through. It is a clear indication that every move in the East was thought out and planned by Japan. The world in general put Japan's successes down to very superior fighting capabilities. This may in part be true, but the main reason is her preparation. In trained man-power, and in arms, she is far in advance of China. She has not been troubled at home with civil wars; indeed, she has had the whole nation behind her. She has been spreading propaganda for years in China. She has, both directly and indirectly, spread difficulties in the way of a united China. Instead of suggesting that the bandits needed strong handling, she might have forbidden the export of arms to those very bandits; indeed, the number of Japanese bandits in Manchuria was suspiciously high in relation to the Japanese population in the Three Eastern Provinces.

The history of Sino-Japanese relations in the course of the last sixty years is one of a series of disputes, interspersed with treaties and agreements, from nearly all of which the Japanese have emerged victors. As long ago as 1871 there was the affair of the Liuchiu Islands, which belonged to China, and in 1874 the

expedition to Formosa. Eventually China renounced joint suzerainty over the former islands in 1879, and to-day Formosa is part of the Empire of Japan. In 1876 the Japanese held a naval demonstration before Fusan, the port of Korea, and Korea became a Japanese possession, full annexation being achieved in 1910. In 1895, at the conclusion of the Sino-Japanese War, when Japan obtained Formosa, the Pescadores Islands and the Liaotung Peninsula were also ceded. The last-named was returned under pressure from Russia, France and Germany. In the Russo-Japanese War the battlefields were on Chinese soil. Even in the Great War of 1914-18 the Japanese violated international rights in her 1915 campaign against the German-leased territory of Kiaochow, and occupied a portion of the province of Shantung, nor was the agreement for evacuation and restoration signed until 1922. It was in 1915 that the Twenty-One Demands were forced upon China, and despite intervention by the U.S.A. most of the demands were accepted by a helpless country. It is probably since the Korean annexation in 1910 that the dream of Eastern subjugation has been germinating in Japan, and to-day this dream has grown into a colossal proposition of conquering the world. This statement, which I have repeated many times throughout the book, is not a mere phantasy. I can say from my own experiences with many thousands of Japanese students, of ages from ten up to thirty-five, that this is a determination in the minds of the men of Japan, both civilians and military. I have corrected thousands upon thousands of essays during the fifteen years that I was teaching English in Japan, and this national view, or desire for world war, was insinuated into every essay upon every possible occasion. As the Tanaka memorial has shown, the Japanese realised that unity in China and Manchuria spelt disaster to their plans. Accordingly they set themselves to create dissension. The sudden fall of the Chinese Empire put a weapon into the hands of the Japanese expansionists, and the latter were not slow

to seize their chance. They were able to read the Chinese written language and were thus in a position to follow from day to day the rapid changes and movements of the post-abdication period. At the time of the Chinese rebellion the heir to the throne was a baby. His name was Hsuan Tung, and he is known to-day as Mr. Henry Pu Yi. He was taken by the Japanese after their invasion, and proclaimed President of the new "State of Manchukuo." For this purpose he was removed to the town of Changchun, now renamed Hsinking, at the north end of the belt railway.

A Chinese general named Yuan Shi-kai with both political and Imperial ambitions succeeded the famous Dr. Sun Yat-sen, as second president of the Chinese Republic. This was twenty-one years ago. It was in the time of this calculating soldier that the peculiar Japanese form of activity began, and Yuan was still at the head of affairs at the time of the Twenty-One Demands. From the moment of signing this treaty Japan was able to inform the world that she, and she alone, held special rights within the territory of China. Up to date no man has been able to define or interpret the meaning of the Japanese "special." Even the Commission of Enquiry, which published its findings in the Lytton Report, was forced to admit that it had been unable to ascertain the full extent of what Japan intended by the word. Following the 1915 treaty Japan made but little headway as regards intrigue and propaganda in Chinese territory. The presidency had changed once more, and the new ruler, Li Yuan-hung, refused to lend himself to the Japanese expansionist moves. About this time a new class appeared in Japan, it was known as the "Narikin," or new rich, and with the sudden access of wealth the cries were loudest for the breaking of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. Each political party of Japan had one common aim, that of acquiring the wealth of Manchuria. The Minseito wished to win this through diplomacy, while the Seiyukai gradually urged stronger methods. When at

the immediate conclusion of the War the Allies refused to admit China's claim to Tsingtao, a new movement, that has been slowly gaining ground ever since, began to make itself felt in China. This was actually the birth of patriotism, and accompanying it was a hatred mania against Japan. This anti-Japanese feeling has grown steadily and the power of the Kuomintang, or Nationalist party of the South, increased enormously both in patriotic sentiment and financial strength. This was met by Japan with further intrigue, especially with the Northern, or military party. This big man in the last group was Marshal Chang Tso-lin. He came from the mountainous district and had been a bandit. Upon joining the Northern party he received a commission and in a remarkably short time became a general. In 1916 this ex-bandit was appointed military and civil governor of Fengtien and he tried to break off relations with the Central Government. Later he revised his opinions and was appointed Inspector-General of all the Three Eastern Provinces. Gradually he made himself the supreme lord of all Manchuria and assumed almost sovereign rights. He maintained friendly relations with the Central Government, however, and asserted that he regarded his Provinces in no way as separate from the Chinese Republic.

During his initial period of power he led the Japanese to think that he would be willing to work with them in their schemes. As his power expanded the Japanese made much of him. At one time his rule extended through Shantung even to Shanghai, and the Japanese groups have long had their eye on this town. In 1922 the Washington Conference was called, and the Nine Power Pact resulted, in which Japan undertook to respect "the sovereignty, the independence, and the territorial and administrative integrity" of China, and to maintain "equality of opportunity in China for the trade of all nations," by refraining to take advantage of conditions in China so as to "seek special rights or privileges." Japan also undertook to provide "the

fullest opportunity to China to develop and maintain for herself an effective and stable government."

Marshal Chang Tso-lin made several diplomatic mistakes in his relations with the Japanese. He made too many promises, and the Japanese based many of their claims or special rights on those promises. They failed to see the Chinese Government's argument that Tso-lin had no right either to make promises or to offer concessions, and refused to admit that by dealing in this back-door manner that they had broken any unwritten international laws. These verbal pledges by Tso-lin, coupled with the three reasons given earlier on in this chapter, form the corner-stone on which all Japanese concepts of and actions in Manchuria are built. As the Staffs and secret agents began to realise that the word of Tso-lin was worth very little in so far as they were concerned, they united to transfer the Marshal from power. There is not the smallest doubt of the Japanese Government's complicity in the murder of Chang Tso-lin. The Lytton Report was not in a position to give a decision. It was acting for the League of Nations, and both China and Japan were, at the time, members. It passes over the murder with these words: "The responsibility for this murder has never been established. The tragedy remains shrouded in mystery, but the suspicion of Japanese complicity to which it gave rise became an additional factor in the state of tension which Sino-Japanese relations had already reached by that time. Chang Tso-lin died on June 4th, 1928. His relations with the Japanese had grown very strained. He had been taking part in the civil wars in China, and apparently Japan resented this and advised him to withdraw his armies into Manchuria." After suffering defeat at the hands of the Kuomintang Army he was forced to follow this advice and left Peking for Mukden. At this point it is necessary, in view of what the Japanese have since stated, to quote the Lytton Report, which says "that his armies did not invade China as if it were a foreign country. . . . Most Chinese civil wars were

directly or indirectly connected with some ambitious scheme to unify the country under a really strong government. Through all its wars and periods of independence, therefore, Manchuria remained an integral part of China." The suggestion for the Marshal's return to Manchuria was made by the Japanese adviser, who accompanied him on the train journey. Here we have the first coincidence in the murder of Tso-lin. The adviser left the special coach in which the Marshal was travelling just before it was blown up. The bomb was thrown at this one coach in the private train which had been chartered in a hurry, and of whose presence only a few Chinese were aware. The bomb was thrown at a point where the train passed under a bridge on which ran a track belonging to the Japanese, and where Tso-lin's train had to slow up. The track above was guarded by Japanese sentinels and the bridge from which the bomb was thrown was protected day and night against interference. The only spot from which the bomb could have been thrown was from one of the sentinel's shelters, and no Chinese could possibly have been there. The fact that the Marshal's coach was struck proves conclusively that his carriage had been signalled previously. There is little doubt that the Japanese had arranged the whole murder.

Japan never resigned herself to the complete loss of Germany's former leased territory in Shantung which she acquired in 1919 by the Treaty of Versailles. By the agreement of 1922 she evacuated the Kiaochow-Tsinan Railway, but took advantage of the first Chinese Nationalist Party movement against the north in June 1927 to send troops into the former district, as she said, to protect the lives and property of her subjects. Seeing that there was not one atom of damage done they were withdrawn in September of the same year. In 1928 Japan again sent troops into Tsinan, and advanced the same pretext. They were picketed in what she called a commercial zone around the railway station at the time that General Kai-shek's National Army arrived. Natur-

ally a state of tension was the result and, whoever was the aggressor as regards the first shot, Japan was undoubtedly to blame for the conflict that followed. She had not the slightest right to send troops. No matter what argument Japan can put forward, the presence of armed soldiers provoked the Nationalists and Japan alone was responsible. Tsinan was bombed and the Chinese Commissioner for Foreign Affairs was brutally murdered. The Japanese occupied the city and only left after one year.

In 1925 Kuo Sung-lin, a general under Marshal Chang Tso-lin, quarrelled with his chief. He mutinied and the Japanese saw great danger in the possibility of this patriot succeeding in his march against Tso-lin. Kuo Sung-lin made rapid progress and gained possession of a wide territory. It must be remembered that at this time the Japanese were under the impression that Chang Tso-lin was working with them, and they had not realised at that point that his promises were worthless. Almost every Chinese in Manchuria was in sympathy with Kuo Sung-lin and Chang Tso-lin found himself in Mukden with diminishing troops. Japan stepped in. Arbitrarily she ordered that a neutral zone of seven English miles be observed on either side of the railway. Kuo Sung-lin was, unfortunately, on the wrong side, that is, the west of the railway, and he was, for the time being, literally stymied. When it seemed that notwithstanding the Japanese obstructions that he would succeed, they did not hesitate to land troops and artillery to prevent the rebel from gaining his objective. In return for this the Japanese expected Chang Tso-lin to reciprocate by further granting of rights, but he again resisted their overtures and from that day his doom was sealed. He was succeeded by his son Chang Hseuh-liang, aged twenty. The Japanese hoped to find this young man more pliant and set about their task of winning further concessions. The Japanese Consul paid him an official visit to commiserate with him on the untimely death of his father. The story of his return call is only rumour,

but that the facts are true there is very little doubt. It has been established that Hseuh-liang was kept in the consular offices most of the day. He is said to have been threatened with death unless he signed certain concessions there and then. He surprised the Japanese by refusing to do so, and they were forced to let him go. Hseuh-liang wished to associate himself with the Kuomintang party, the Nationalists, and the Japanese realised that this might lead to a stronger China, and came to the decision that the only way was immediate invasion. From this date Japan has been preparing for war. The Staffs seized the opportunity to gain the power in Japan proper and General Tanaka, much to the surprise of the nation, was appointed Prime Minister and Foreign Minister to the Empire of Japan. Tanaka was supported by the Staff caste and the Kais, and his famous "positive policy" was written for the Emperor and became the slogan of the moment. From 1927 the Staffs concentrated on finding some formula to place before the world which would account for their ambitions.

In the meantime matters were going from bad to worse in Manchuria from the point of view of Japan. When in 1928 young Marshal Chang Hseuh-liang hoisted the Nationalist flag over his residence Japan knew that she must act soon. The Nationalist policy was towards a united China and against Japan and her special rights. Towards the end of 1930 the national feeling was stronger than ever and the party opened offices in Mukden and other large towns. They met and discussed matters that only meant the end of all Japanese hopes in China. The Staffs decided to invade Manchuria and to seek some pretence later. This they found in 1931.

As a matter of justice to one section of the Japanese politicians it must be recorded that the Tanaka policy had frightened certain of the Japanese people, and the Minscito party returned to power. The Foreign Minister of this group, Baron Hirohara, endeavoured to cool the hot-headed patriots. During his sway matters ran smoothly, although inwardly Japan was seething like a

volcano. When the Minseito party fell, Inukai, the Clemenceau of Japan, was made Premier. He was assassinated in his own home by members of a secret group known as the Blood Brotherhood. Early in June came the Captain Namakura murder and the Wanpaoshan Affair was still struggling along its dreary course. In both cases the Japanese were to blame. In my opinion both were instigated by the Japanese deliberately. They were to be the pretence for invasion.

The Wanpaoshan Affair began in April 1931. A Chinese named Hao Yung-teh leased some land from Shao Yen-lin and others, and the contract was duly signed on the sixteenth of the month. The last clause in the lease provided that it should be null and void if not approved by the Government of the Changchun district. This was in accordance with the local laws. Before receiving official sanction Hao Yung-teh transferred the lease to a group of Korean farmers. This was done without the knowledge of the district magistrate. The farmers then brought more than 180 of their fellow-countrymen to start work on the land. They began at once to dig a canal several miles long connecting their land with the Itung River, with a view to making the land suitable for paddy cultivation. Further they started to dam up the Itung to ensure an adequate supply of water. Not only were other local farmers reliant upon the same source of water supply, but the land through which the canal was cut did not belong to the Koreans, nor had they or Hao Yung-teh signed any contract with or obtained the permission of the owners. The Chinese whose land had thus been taken rather naturally objected. Not only did they complain that it was a matter of trespass and damage, but they pointed out that in the event of a flood the adjacent crops covering several hundred thousands of acres would be ruined. To the Western mind there seems little case for the Koreans, but the local authorities diplomatically urged the Chinese farmers to be patient and await instructions before making any positive move. At the same time

police were dispatched to order the Koreans to stop work. Upon their arrival they found that the Japanese Consul at Changchun had sent six Japanese police to assist the Koreans. Under their protection they became more unmanageable.

After failure to reach any amicable settlement through the district authorities, the Japanese Consul then sent a larger number of Koreans to continue the work of excavation, and with them about sixty Japanese police armed with machine-guns. The latter forcibly occupied houses of Chinese farmers and made them their headquarters. The construction of the canal and dam was completed by the end of June.

In the meanwhile the municipal authorities at Changchun lodged a protest with the Japanese Consul pointing out that the original lease of Hao Yung-teh was invalid. They added that the right of digging a canal was out of the question and had violated the land belonging to the Chinese farmers who were in no way concerned with the lease. They demanded punishment of the Koreans and compensation for the Chinese whose land had been damaged. The next day a second despatch was forwarded demanding the withdrawal of the Japanese police and urging that the Koreans be ordered to stop work. On the same day the Japanese Consul-General sent the Vice-Consul of Kirin to call on the Chairman of the Kirin Provincial Government regarding the withdrawal of the police of both countries. On the 6th the Japanese Consul at Changchun replied to both notes. He stated that the Koreans were working according to contract and added, somewhat naively, that their farming activities were conducted with good intention. He said further that they were too poor to be ordered to move, and that if this were done they would starve. I would remind the reader of the Japanese actions in Korea. On the 8th of the month an agreement was reached whereby all police were to be withdrawn and the matter in dispute investigated jointly by a Sino-Japanese enquiry consisting of the local authorities and mediators

from both sides. Further, the Koreans were to discontinue their work immediately. On June 9th the Chinese officially accepted the suggestion and expressed the hope of a speedy settlement. On June 11th the Chinese municipal authorities sent the Japanese Consul at Changchun a copy of the findings of the investigation, which was attended by two members of the Consulate and by one representative of the South Manchuria Railway. The findings were divided into three parts : the original leases, the reasons for the obstruction on the part of the Chinese farmers and the concluding remarks of the Commission. The first section proved conclusively that the clause for official approval had not been signed. The Chinese farmers' objections showed that the canal had cut their land into two without easy means of crossing—in certain cases to take any large agricultural implements across it was necessary to travel as much as ten miles. In order to force water into the canal some hundreds of acres of land would of necessity be flooded, as the land in question was on a higher level than its surroundings. This meant too that water draining from this land would flood the fields in the immediate environment. Machiasowkow, an important ferry, was found to be damaged considerably as a result of the rising waters of the River Itung following the building of the dam. The same river, as a result of the dam, was no longer a means of communication between the upper and lower reaches.

In conclusion, the Commission found that the excavation of the land had violated the property rights of the owners concerned ; that the cutting of the canal had resulted in loss of farmers' time and labour ; that the dyke would cause flood over a great area ; that the necessary means of communication between the Changchun and the Nonang districts had been rendered useless ; that no nation should tolerate such violation and interference by the nationals of another nation.

In the afternoon of the day that these findings were

delivered the Chinese suggested that the Koreans might well be allowed to cultivate the land as dry instead of wet fields, and further that Hao Yung-teh, as the responsible party, should settle with the Koreans in the matter of loss. Now this suggestion illustrates that the Chinese had themselves realised the power of Japan, and shows that they were only too anxious to come to some agreement. On June 12th the Japanese Consul refused this generous gesture. On the following day he brought forward the argument, against the findings of the Commission, that the dam on the River Itung would not cause flood, and that the Koreans were not originally to blame. In a second despatch on the same day he pointed out that the value of the land would be increased as a result of the building of the canal. On the 14th the Chinese municipal authorities forwarded reasons to the Consul, explaining where the Koreans had contravened the laws of the Kirin Provincial Government. Once again they went into the details of damage that the Koreans had already caused, and urged the Japanese to keep their word made to the joint commission of enquiry. Two days later the Japanese Consul replied to the effect that if a flood were to happen, the Koreans would find some way to remedy the situation. He intimated that Japanese police had again taken up their protective positions to guard the Koreans, who had not yet started work. On the 17th the Chinese demanded the removal of the police. On the 23rd they reported that as a result of the Koreans' work the land about a mile and three furlongs from the river had been flooded. Further, they had learned that 75 Koreans had started work. Three days later the Japanese Consul replied and suggested that the Koreans be allowed to complete their work, when they would be in a better position to judge the result of the effect of the dam in the matter of flooding. On the same day in a second note he reported that some Koreans had been arrested and that the Chinese farmers had destroyed parts of the canal. On June 27th the Chinese sent two despatches to the

Consul restating the damage caused and explaining that the farmers were in fact justified.

On July 1st about four hundred Chinese farmers filled in part of the canal, and some twenty armed Japanese police were sent to protect the Koreans. The Chinese repeated their work of destruction on the two following days and the Japanese Consul protested. The Japanese police fired on the Chinese, and a protest by the local authorities followed. On July 8th the latter again demanded the withdrawal and punishment of the police. Two days later the Japanese Consul demanded compensation for the Koreans, one year's living expenses, free living for those already in possession, in return they would cultivate the land dry for one year and at the end of twelve months they should have permission to make paddy fields. At this point higher authority stepped in and it became an international affair.

In the meantime the Japanese lost no time in spreading the story throughout Korea. The news was distorted and exaggerated. Tales of murder of the Korean farmers were put abroad, and the Chinese were said to have treated them in the most brutal manner. The climax was reached when the Chinese farmers destroyed part of the canal on July 1st. On the 3rd the first incidents in Korea occurred at Jinsen, when stone-throwing and anti-Chinese rioting took place. At day-break on the following morning the Chinese concentrated in their quarter to avoid the mob, and appealed to the police for protection. At the close of the forenoon some 3000 Koreans rioted and smashed doors and property. On the 5th, after the police had promised the Chinese Consul-General that they would assume all responsibility, further rioting took place and considerable damage was done to Chinese property. Two Chinese were killed and over a score wounded. At Seoul the first outbreak took place on July 3rd. One hundred and forty-six Chinese were injured, and again considerable damage done to Chinese property. At Heijo on the 5th a Korean mob attacked the Chinese quarter with sticks,



(Photo Osaka Mainichi, 19-3-33)

GIRLS OF THE KIKKA SCHOOL OF MOMOYAMA RECEIVING MILITARY TRAINING



JAPANESE SAILORS ROUNDING UP CHINESE CIVILIANS DURING THE SHANGHAI FIGHTING

knives and hatchets. Many women and children were hacked to death. Throughout the Japanese police assumed responsibility. Burning, plundering and rioting became general. In all, outbreaks occurred in seven towns in Korea. The police could, with the greatest ease, have controlled the mobs in every case. They were armed only with knives and sticks. The latest figures for the riots are given as 142 killed, 546 wounded, 91 missing and the damage and loss of property at 4,163,103 yen. These figures are somewhat higher than those in the Lytton Report, but are, if anything, an underestimate.

At this point I propose to insert the Captain Namakura affair. I do not think that there is much doubt that it was engineered by the Japanese. Probably they did not believe that it would end in murder, but the fact that there was murder made their case stronger. Early in June Captain Shintaro Namakura, an officer of the Imperial Japanese Army, set out on a secret mission. He was accompanied by Y. Isugi, a Mongolian, and a Russian. In China if a foreigner wishes to travel in the interior, biographical facts are required by the authorities from his Consul. The proposed route and the object of the journey must also be stated, whereupon a passport is issued and the officials of the locality wherein the foreigner intends to travel are instructed to afford him protection and assistance. Captain Namakura described himself as an agriculturist on his passport. On June 9th he and his party left Ilikotu Station for a district which was, as the Chinese authorities informed him upon examination of his passport at Harbin, a bandit-ridden area. This was formally entered on his passport in Chinese script. After reaching a point some distance in the interior, in the direction of Taonan, he and his party were arrested by Chinese soldiers of the Third Regiment. He was said to be travelling on a route not prescribed to the authorities. The Commander of the Chinese who was responsible was Yuan Chen. A few days later Namakura was shot together with his

companions. On July 17th news reached the Japanese Consul-General at Tsitsihar of his death. They allowed the report to be published in *The Manchuria Daily News* exactly one month later, on August 17th. On the same day the Consul-General of Mukden, Hayashi and a Major Mori, who had been sent by the Japanese General Staff from Tokyo to enquire into the matter, visited the Governor of the Liaoning Province. The latter promised to investigate. Further, the Japanese stated that they had definite evidence that his death was at the hands of Chinese soldiers. The Governor of Liaoning immediately communicated with Marshal Chang Hseuh-liang, who was, at the time, ill in hospital in Peking, and also with the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Nanking. He also appointed two Chinese investigators. It is interesting to note that the "definite news" obtained by the Japanese came through General Shirakawa, a former General of the Imperial Army Staff in Manchuria, who had become a journalist and had visited the lonely mountainous district for professional purposes. There he met the Japanese mistress of a local bandit. The latter had imparted the secret to his mistress under the influence of wine and thus it found its way into Japanese hands. On September 4th the Japanese Consul-General learned that the first enquiry set up by the Governor of Liaoning had proved abortive, and that Marshal Chang Hseuh-liang was convening a second enquiry. At the same time the Marshal despatched one of his Japanese advisers to Tokyo to explain that he was doing his utmost to disentangle the threads, and intimated that he hoped personally to be in a position to give a detailed report in the near future. This envoy, Major Shibayama, arrived in Tokyo on September 12th and announced to the Press the anxiety of the young Marshal to secure an early termination of the Namakura issue. Baron Shidehara, the Foreign Minister for China, also visited Tokyo, and several conversations took place with a view to finding a solution to the problem.

The second commission of investigation returned to

Mukden after visiting the scene of the killing on September 16th. Two days later the Japanese Consul was informed that General Yuan had been brought to Mukden, and would be tried by court-martial on the charge of responsibility for the murder. On September 17th *The Nippon Dempo Press Agency* wired to Tokyo that "an amicable settlement of the alleged murder case of Captain Namakura of the Japanese General Staff is in sight." In the meantime Yuan Chen was detained in a military prison. His court-martial was announced to take place within a week. According to the Lytton Report "it would seem that diplomatic negotiations for attaining a solution of the Namakura case were actually progressing favourably up to the night of September 18th."

Now the Japanese admitted brazenly that Namakura was a member of the General Staff. Further, they admitted that he did not disclose this to the Chinese authorities. They naturally do not discuss the possibility of his being a spy, although there is no doubt whatsoever that he was sent by the Japanese as an agent provocateur. The Chinese assert that he was carrying patent medicine, which included narcotic drugs for non-medicinal purposes. He was armed, admitted by the Japanese. Documents, including a Japanese military map and two diaries, with notes on strategic positions proved that he was a spy. The Japanese refuse to accept this definition, but readily admit that he was on a special military mission. That is a quibble.

In the meantime the Wanpaoshan Affair was dragging on. On the morning of September 19th the population of Mukden awoke to find their city in the hands of Japanese troops. Sounds of firing and a loud explosion had been heard during the night, but as the Japanese had been carrying out night manoeuvres for some time this was not unusual. War had begun.

VI. *First Moves.*

The Lytton Report gives the Japanese explanation of the happenings on the night of September 18th-19th.

Briefly they asserted that the Chinese attacked them when on night manoeuvres and that a battle followed. The Japanese story is very thin. Lieutenant Kawamoto said that he was on night patrol with six men, practising defence exercises. The night was clear. They heard an explosion in their rear and found a portion of the railway had been blown up. Upon investigation they were fired upon, and, following up the enemy, they discovered some hundreds of Chinese soldiers, who again opened fire. The Lieutenant got into communication with headquarters and with the commander of No. 3 Company who was some fifteen hundred yards away.

At this moment the south-bound train from Changchun was heard approaching, and Kawamoto suddenly remembered that the line had been blown up. With great presence of mind in the short space of time that elapsed between the noise of the train piercing the rifle-fire and its reaching the dangerous spot, the worthy Lieutenant advanced up the line and placed detonators on the rails with the hope of warning the engine-driver. The latter presumably considered that it was more rifle fire and put on full steam. The train passed the horrified Lieutenant at top speed. With goggling eyes and clenched fists he awaited the crash, but apparently some angel stepped in and just as the train reached the fateful spot temporarily straightened one line. The train gracefully heeled over on to its off wheels and safely passed on. It even arrived punctually in Mukden, a rare event indeed. That is the Lieutenant's story and he was an eye-witness of the miracle. "Fighting was then resumed."

The story continues: Reinforcements arrived and with only 500 men he attacked the Chinese barracks, believing that 10,000 Chinese soldiers were stationed there. His explanation of this manoeuvre to Lord Lytton was that "offence is the best defence." After some hours' fighting the south gate was blown up by the Chinese with a small cannon, presumably to make the Japanese job easier. At any rate the whole barracks

was captured one hour later, but unfortunately caught fire. In the meantime operations in other places were being carried out with the same accuracy and speed, and Mukden was attacked. No resistance was offered, said the Japanese, so only 75 Chinese police were killed. Lieutenant-General Honjo was on a tour of inspection at the time of this catastrophe, and only heard later of the unwarranted attack on his troops by the Chinese. He first learned of the outrage at 11 a.m., but he was an impetuous officer and wasted no time. In fact, he made his decisions with such speed that by 11.46 the Chief of Staff had been informed, the Fleet had been ordered to proceed to Yangkow, the troops at Liaoyang, Yingkow and Fenghuangsheng were marching on Mukden and the Commander-in-Chief of the Japanese Garrison army in Korea had been told to send reinforcements. Honjo arrived at Mukden at noon.

The Japanese stated that they buried 320 Chinese, but only found 20 wounded. Now, without detracting from the marksmanship of the Japanese troops, I would suggest that this figure is almost too good to be true. The Chinese had little or no time to withdraw their wounded, and yet in an engagement at night, where the Japanese were completely surprised, they manage to kill 320 of their opponents and only wound 20. It is not reasonable. These figures are, by the way, for the engagement undertaken by the imaginative Lieutenant Kawamoto. There is only one answer to the extraordinary ratio, the Japanese must have killed the majority of the wounded. Further, it seems to prove fairly conclusively that the Japanese were not quite so surprised as they would have it appear. Without comment I would ask whether it is usual to undertake night manoeuvres so well equipped with ammunition? It seems that the Japanese in their battle practice made the affair so realistic as to have their rifles loaded with ball and not blank. The Chinese version is, of course, almost the reverse of the Japanese. They claim to have been completely surprised, and I think there is little

doubt that this was so. The casualties of each side speak in favour of this point of view. They, too, heard the explosion, followed by rifle fire, and at once this was reported to the C.O., General Wang I-Chch. While the Chief of Staff was still at the telephone the barracks were attacked. The Chinese at no time resisted the attack seriously. They were under orders from Marshal Chang Hseuh-Liang to avoid any clash with the Japanese troops owing to the state of tension existing at the time. A telegram from the Marshal was shown to the Commission of Enquiry, which read: "Our relations with Japan have become very delicate. We must be particularly cautious in our intercourse with them. No matter how they may challenge us, we must be extremely patient and never resort to force, so as to avoid any conflict whatever. You are instructed to issue, secretly and immediately, orders to all officers, calling their attention to this point." The only resistance offered was by the 620th Regiment, who found themselves cut off and were forced to fight their way through. The conclusions are obvious. The Japanese were the aggressors. They wanted war, they saw the possibility of the settlement of the Namakura case, they saw that any outside Power, called in to negotiate on the principle of the Wanpaoshan Affair, would, inevitably, find against Japan. They were determined to have war, and they attacked the Chinese troops. I believe it probable that they were responsible for the fateful explosion on the railway. Their exact purpose in so doing is not clear. Probably they were quite ready to sacrifice the few Japanese on the train, if it were wrecked, and to use their death as a means to bring about an outbreak of hostilities. That seems to be a reasonable suggestion, but there is no doubt whatsoever that the explosion was a signal to the Japanese, and that they made the first move on the night of September 18th.

The conclusions of the Commission of Enquiry are interesting. It must once again be emphasised that the Commission was merely collecting evidence, and that

it was acting on behalf of both nations, which were, at the time, both members of the League of Nations. With this point made clear it may be realised that any suggestive remarks by the Commission can be interpreted as their personal view, quietly disguised or toned down, to suit the medium through which they were to be made known. In other words, the conclusions in the matter as to who was the aggressor on the particular night in question leave no doubt at all as to the unanimous opinion of the members of the Commission. The report reads : "Tense feeling undoubtedly exists between the Japanese and Chinese military forces. The Japanese, as was explained to the Commission in evidence, had a carefully prepared plan to meet the possible hostilities between themselves and the Chinese on the night of September 18th-19th, this plan was put into operation with swiftness and precision. The Chinese, in accordance with the instructions referred to (the telegram from Marshal Hseuh-Liang) had no plan of attacking the Japanese troops, or of endangering the lives or property of Japanese nationals at this particular time or place. They made no concerted or authorised attack on the Japanese forces and were surprised by the Japanese attack and subsequent operations. An explosion undoubtedly occurred on or near the railroad between 10 and 10.30 p.m. on September 18th, but the damage, if any, to the railroad did not in fact prevent the punctual arrival of the south-bound train from Changchun, and was not in itself sufficient to justify Japanese military action. The military operations of the Japanese troops during the night, which have been described above, cannot be regarded as measures of military defence."

VII. Invasion Sequences.

I do not propose to give any detailed account of the Japanese campaign in Manchuria between September 18th, 1931, and the declaration of independence, which made Manchuria into a separate state under the name

of "Manchukuo," on February 28th, 1932. Suffice to say that on September 24th, 1931, Japan informed the League of Nations that the majority of her forces had withdrawn to the railway zone, and that the Government proposed to complete the evacuation as soon as possible. It is curious that on that very day an armoured Japanese train attacked Tungliao, 125 miles from the zone in question, and that Koupangtze and Chinchow were bombed, both towns being also a considerable distance from the South Manchuria Railway. In the same communication a denial that troops had been sent to Changchun was included, although at the time this town was occupied by the Japanese. Further, Japan assured the League that she would not occupy the Ssuningkai-Chenchiatung Railway. When she made this promise the railway line had been in her hands for two days.

In a resolution of September 30th, the Council to the League of Nations took note of the promise of Japan to withdraw her troops. China almost rigorously conformed to her promises to the League, but Japan pursued her course with the utmost equanimity. She was reminded of her assurances on October 24th, and on December 10th, but ignored both notes completely, and continued her march forward. Her excuse on each occasion was the proximity of the Chinese regulars. To allay her fears China withdrew her troops, but Japan promptly followed, and on being reminded once more, again gave the proximity of the Chinese as the excuse. These facts seem hard to believe in the West, but they are the absolute truth. Japan had started on her subjugation of the East and was determined that nothing should stop her.

The chronological stages of the invasion are a matter of no direct interest. It was but a repetition of Japanese attacks and Chinese retreats. Interspersed are tales of violation and atrocities against civilians, and of illegal seizures and confiscations; of forceful occupation of administrative bodies,

During the early days of the invasion especially Japan made many air bombardments of cities which were neither defended nor fortified. The Lytton Report indicates fairly clearly that the Chinese did very little provocative work at any time during the campaign, and these raids by the Japanese seem quite unjustified. In the Three Eastern Provinces nearly forty towns were bombarded either from the air or by artillery. The resulting damage is inestimable. On October 8th, twelve aeroplanes attacked Chinchow and more than twenty persons were killed. At Sanchienfang several hundred bombs were dropped on November 6th. A month later over 300 Chinese peasants were killed in a needless raid over various villages in the north-west section of Mukden. On January 4th, seven people were killed by bombs at Tungliao, and fifteen houses were destroyed.

For four consecutive days a passenger train on the Peiping-Liaoning Railway was fired on at Hsinglung-tien. It would appear that on each occasion it was a matter of exuberance on the part of the Japanese troops, although the official version is that the Chinese fired first. After the occupation of Shenyang, Mr. Tsang Shih-yi, Chairman of the Liaoning Provincial Government, was arrested and under the threat of death forced to sign a confession that Chinese were responsible for the provocation of the day before. The Provincial Commissioner of Agriculture, Mr. Liu Ho-ling, was detained by the Japanese owing to his refusal to sign away mining concessions. General Feng Yung, founder of the Feng Yung University, was detained for thirteen days and then taken to Tokyo. Thence he was put on a Japanese ship bound for Singapore but managed to escape at Shanghai.

Upon the local authorities fleeing at the approach of the Japanese, the latter have, in many instances, attached their private possessions and posted a notice to the effect that unless they are claimed within a certain time they will be sold. As the owners dare not return the

goods are put up for auction by the Japanese and the money pocketed.

These cases are but a few of the hundreds of violation that Japan has committed. There are tales of horror, but no documentary evidence can be obtained. Knowing the inherent lust and love of cruelty and bloodshed of the Japanese I am ready to accept the stories as true. They are appalling in their hideous barbarity. First I should mention that all news leaving Manchuria is at present Japanese. It is rigidly censored, and any tales that do come through are from Chinese fleeing beyond the Great Wall. Perhaps it would be well at this point to consider once more the Lytton Report. It is anticipating the formation of the "State of Manchukuo," but it will give a direct insight into the feelings of the inhabitants themselves, and will give a certain authenticity to the tales of horror that are being told of the Japanese reign of terror that is disguised under the name of government. Under the heading of "Opinions of the Inhabitants of Manchuria," the report says: "It was one of the objects of the Commission to ascertain the attitude of the inhabitants of Manchuria towards the new 'State,' however, the obtaining of evidence presented some difficulty. The danger real or supposed, to the Commission from bandits, Korean Communists, or supporters of the new Government who might be angered by the presence of the Chinese Assessor on account of his criticisms of that regime, provided a reason for exceptional measures of protection. There were, no doubt occasional real dangers in the unsettled conditions of the country, and we are grateful for the efficient protection with which we were provided throughout the tour. But the effect of the police measures adopted was to keep away witnesses; and many Chinese were frankly afraid of even meeting members of our staff. We were informed at one place that no one would be allowed to see the Commission without official permission. Interviews were therefore usually arranged with considerable difficulty and in secrecy, and many

informed us that it was too dangerous for them to meet us even in this way.

“ In spite of these difficulties, we were able to arrange private interviews with business men, bankers, teachers, doctors, police, tradesmen and others, in addition to our public interviews with ‘ Manchukuo ’ officials, Japanese consuls and military officers. We also received over 1500 written communications, some delivered by hand, the majority sent by post to different addresses. The information so received was checked as far as possible from neutral sources.

“ Many delegations representing public bodies and associations were received, and usually presented to us written statements. Most of the delegations were introduced by the Japanese or by ‘ Manchukuo ’ authorities, and we had strong grounds for believing that the statements left with us had previously obtained Japanese approval. In fact, in some cases persons who had presented them informed us afterwards that they had been written or substantially revised by the Japanese and were not to be taken as the expression of their real feelings. These documents were remarkable for the studied neglect to comment either favourably or otherwise upon Japanese participation in the establishment or maintenance of the ‘ Manchukuo ’ administration. In the main, these statements were concerned with the relation of grievances against the former Chinese administration and contained expressions of hope and confidence in the future of the new ‘ State.’

“ The letters received came from farmers, small tradesmen, town workers and students, and related the feelings and experiences of the writers. After the return of the Commission to Peiping in June, this mass of correspondence was translated, analysed and arranged by an expert staff specially selected for the purpose. All these 1550 letters, except two, were bitterly hostile to the new ‘ Manchukuo Government ’ and to the Japanese. They appeared to be sincere and spontaneous expressions of opinion.

"The higher Chinese officials of the 'Manchukuo Government' are in office for various reasons. Many of them were previously in the former regime and have been retained either by inducements or by intimidation of one kind or another. Some of them conveyed messages to the Commission to the effect that they had been forced to remain in office under duress, that all power was in Japanese hands, that they were loyal to China, and that what they had said at their interviews with the Commission in the presence of the Japanese was not necessarily to be believed. Some officials have remained in office to prevent their property from being confiscated, as has happened in the case of some of those who have fled. Others, men of good repute, joined in the hope that they would have power to improve the administration, and under promise of the Japanese that they would have a free hand. Some Manchus joined in the hope of getting benefits for persons of the Manchu race. Some of these have been disappointed and complained that no real authority was conceded to them. Lastly, a few men are in office because they had personal grievances against the former regime for reasons of profit.

"The minor or local officials have in the main retained their offices, partly because of the necessity for earning a living and supporting their families, and partly because they feel that if they go worse men might be put in their place. Most of the local magistrates have also remained in office, partly from a sense of duty to the people under their charge and partly under pressure. . . . The 'Manchukuo' Police are partly composed of members of the former Chinese police, partly of new recruits. In the larger towns there are actually Japanese officers in the police, and in many other places there are Japanese advisers. Some individual members of the police who spoke to us expressed their dislike of the new regime, but said they must continue to serve to make a living. The 'Manchukuo' Army also consists in the main of the former Manchurian soldiers reorganised under Japanese supervision. Such troops were at first content to take

service under the new regime provided they were merely required to maintain local order. But, since they have on occasions been called upon to engage in serious warfare against Chinese forces and to fight under Japanese orders side by side with Japanese troops, the 'Manchukuo' Army has become increasingly unreliable. Japanese sources report the frequent defection of 'Manchukuo' forces to the Chinese side, while the Chinese claim that their most reliable and fruitful source of warlike supplies is the 'Manchukuo' Army.

"The Chinese business men and bankers who were interviewed by us were hostile to 'Manchukuo.' They disliked the Japanese; they feared for their lives and property, and frequently remarked: 'We do not want to become like the Koreans.' . . . The professional classes, teachers and doctors, are hostile to 'Manchukuo.' They allege that they are spied upon and intimidated. The interference with education, the closing of Universities and some schools, and the alterations in the school text-books, have added to their hostility, already great on patriotic grounds. The censorship of the Press, post and opinion is resented, as is also the prohibition of the entry into 'Manchukuo' of newspapers published in China. . . . Many letters were received from students and young people directed against 'Manchukuo.'

"Evidence regarding the attitude of farmers and town workers is divergent and naturally difficult to obtain. Opinion among foreigners and educated Chinese was to the effect that they were either hostile or indifferent."

I do not think there is any reason for the Chinese farmer in Manchuria to be anything but hostile. The constant quarrels, as the report goes on to point out, with the Koreans, who cultivate rice and whose canals flood the land of the Chinese farmer, and the ever-increasing disagreements with the Japanese consular police sent to protect the Koreans, have embittered every Chinese farmer. The Wanpaoshan Affair was but the exaggerated, or rather, enlarged report of many

similar cases. Further, there is evidence from the Chinese that the present Japanese "Manchukuo Government" has forced their farmers to sell land to the Koreans at a price below its value, and that the Koreans, already subjected by Japan at home, are being encouraged to migrate and are being granted special allowances.

The Lytton Report goes on to remark that since the invasion there has been an unparalleled growth in banditry and lawlessness throughout the countryside, and adds that "organised warfare, from which Manchuria, compared with the rest of China, has been free for many years, is now being waged in many parts of the Three Eastern Provinces." It concludes: "After careful study of the evidence presented to us in public and private interviews, in letters and written statements, we have come to the conclusion that there is no general Chinese support for the 'Manchukuo Government' which is regarded by the local Chinese as an instrument of the Japanese."

From this excerpt of the report, which was not a judgment, but a statement of fact, it can be seen that fear of the Japanese predominates throughout the whole of Manchuria. The following stories I have collected from many sources. Some come from friends in Japan; many have been passed on to geishas by Japanese military officers under the influence of wine. I have carefully sorted out those that appear to me to be true. I have consulted men who have been in Manchuria during the past two years and I can only say that if, in any case, I have exaggerated, then there are others, which I have omitted, that surpass those I am about to relate. I would remind the reader of the unutterable cruelties of which I have already written, and for which I have documentary evidence, and with this view I cannot but believe what I have been told, not only by the Chinese, but by Japanese, and by Europeans and Americans who have been on the spot.

I do not propose to quote the atrocities in chronological order, I merely give them as I was informed. In

October of last year three Chinese citizens were charged with rendering assistance to some of the many bands of roaming Chinese volunteers in Manchuria. They were heard and condemned to death. They were told that they would be shot and were taken outside the town of Shenyang. They were ordered to dig their own graves and numbers of the populace rounded up to witness the affair as a warning. After completing the digging they were told that the graves were not deep enough and were made to begin again. Following inspection by the Japanese officer their work was passed and then the Japanese soldiers buried them alive.

I have been told of bayoneting of civilians for apparent fun by the Japanese soldiers. There was the Fushun massacre when some 3000 men, women and children were bayoneted or mown down by machine-guns. The Japanese admit that the villages laid waste and the inhabitants killed were in reprisal for an attack by Chinese volunteers on Fushun, when several Japanese troops were killed. They further admitted that the "rebels" did not come from the sacked villages, but stated that by their act of vengeance they had warned other volunteers against further attacks. In all nine villages were destroyed by fire and the villagers massacred. According to the report of Mr. Hunter, of *The Daily Express*, one of them, Ta Tung-chia, was set alight and the inhabitants murdered six days before the attack on Fushun by the volunteers. I quote from one report: "On the open hill-side lay bloodstained rags, all that was left of the clothing once worn by the wretched victims of Japanese vengeance. They were still smoking with the heat from the fire that had consumed the bodies. A rough earth mound marked the spot where the charred remains had been buried in a common grave. Everywhere, even the very air, reeked of massacre."

In Shanghai some of the most appalling atrocities were performed by the Japanese. Many of these stories were witnessed by Europeans and Americans, and are true in every detail. If Japan dared such outrages in

sight of representatives of the Powers, I suggest that in Manchuria, where they were, and are, under no restraint, they have indulged in beastialities beyond belief. The bombing of the refugee camp in Chapei, outside Shanghai, was a matter of cold-blooded murder. The Japanese excuses that it was mistaken for a military encampment have no foundation whatsoever.

Here is a letter from Sir John Hope Simpson, director-general of the International Flood Relief Commission, to Mr. T. V. Soong. It is dated February 11th, 1932. "I have to report to you that a camp of flood refugees on the Lui Ying Road, two miles north-west of the North Station, and on the border of Chapei, contained on January 26th, 10,399 refugees and a staff of 49 members. After the first Japanese bombardment of Chapei on January 29th, about 2000 of these refugees fled, but over 8000 remained in the camp, and were as usual fed and sheltered.

"On February 5th the camp was bombed by Japanese planes about noon. A woman and a boy were killed on the spot, four persons were wounded, and some of the patients in the hospital died of fright. Most of the refugees fled, and there remained in the camp only a few hundred persons, the majority of whom were sick in hospital or aged people who found it difficult to get away.

"The following day Japanese planes again bombarded the camp, and after the bombardment 48 dead were found in the camp, most of whom had been patients in the hospital. With the exception of about 20 people, the occupants of the camp were removed and it was again bombed the following day, February 7th. It was then entirely evacuated, and as the relieving party was about to leave the camp, the planes returned and dropped a bomb which damaged a house beside the camp.

"I have protested against this action in a letter to the Japanese Consul-General, pointing out that the action appears to have been unnecessary and was cer-



THE CHINESE RED CROSS GENERAL HOSPITAL

The Co-operated Hospital of
The College of Medicine, National Central University

DIVISION OF
DISEASES OF THE LUNG & HEART

263 AVENUE HAIG
SHANGHAI

CABLE ADDRESS MEDICAL
TEL. 70182-J

Feb. 16th, 1932.

Dr. F. C. Yen,
Superintendent of
Chinese Red Cross Hospital.

Dear Dr. Yen:-

Having gained experience in minor war surgery during the Great European War I wish to put before you two particular cases of rifle shot-wounds, one in a Chinese soldier, the other in a Chinese civilian, a woman.

Case No. 1 - A projectile or better a part of one such was found in the intestine of a soldier by Dr. Samuel Lowe who showed me the projectile. It is a piece of lead, 2.4 cr. long with an average width of 0.7 cr. in one, and 0.4 cr. kang in the other direction. Its end is very much deformed. The body which shows an approximately triangular cross section is quite irregular in one of the three sides; there is no steel-ventile. From the experience that the lead nucleus of a projectile can only emerge from the steel-ventile if the tip has been torn or broken off, moreover from the very deformed shape of the projectile and lastly from the certainty that the piece of lead before me is not from any kind of artillery projectile known to me, I am of the opinion that the part of the projectile in question is from a dum dum bullet.

Case No. 2 - On Feb. 13th, 1932 I was called in consultation by the Department of the Surgery of this hospital to see Mrs. Nien who had been wounded by a rifle shot Feb. 12th, 1932. I saw a small practically closed entrance wound at the left posterior chest. The exit wound presented a defect of the size of a man's palm of the left upper anterior chest wall. One rib was seen apparently unbroken, the one just below this showed a defect of about two inches through which the collapsed lung could perfectly well be seen. It is a well known fact that rifle shots with the normal steel entrance wound will be fatal at the place of exit are caused only by dum dum bullets.

Apart from the possibility that the dum dum bullet is also found in bullets deformed in the chest by the entrance of a bullet, I herewith mention the fact that the dum dum bullet is also found in the chest of a dum dum bullet.

Yours faithfully,

F. C. Yen, M. D. (Vienna)

WITHOUT COMMENT

tainly inhuman. I said that no military advantage whatever can have been gained by these attacks on a camp occupied by homeless refugees from the flooded areas, the only result has been the sacrifice of over 50 perfectly innocent lives.

"I sent a copy of my letter to the senior member of the Consular Body, with a request that its contents be conveyed to the members of that body, and another copy to the Mayor of Greater Shanghai Municipality."

On February 5th the Japanese Consul's reply to Sir John was written. It reads: "I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of February 15th, 1932, calling my attention to the bombing by Japanese planes of a matshed (shelter with a roof of mats) of flood relief refugees on the Lui Ying Road.

"I lost no time in transmitting the contents of your letter to the Japanese Naval Authorities, who in reply have notified me to the effect that in those days when the unhappy incidents of bombing occurred, the Japanese naval landing forces were busily engaged in bombing the Chinese troops who were incessantly directing the bombardment at the Japanese forces from their defence lines constructed all over the Chapei district and that the spot in question where bombs were dropped, unfortunately not only happened to be located adjacent to the Chinese position but was protected with barbed wire.

"However, the Naval Authorities asked me to express their deepest regret that so many flood refugees have been subjected to a serious disaster by the bombing.

"In this connection perhaps I may call your attention to the fact that if you had been good enough to notify me of the incident of February 5th immediately after its happening, the calamitous fate which befell the unfortunate refugees after February 6th might have been averted or at least lessened to a great extent.

"I might add that, according to a circular from the

Senior Consul, you wrote to Mr. T. V. Soong stating that you addressed me another letter dated February 12th, asking for my reply. But I regret to inform you that I have not yet received your letter dated February 12th and will appreciate if you make investigations into the matter."

Two days later Sir John replied to this note. He said : "I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter of February 15th, 1932, which was delivered to me personally by your messenger at 12.30 p.m. to-day, February 17th.

"In your letter you acknowledged receipt of my letter of February 15th, which I think must be a mistake for February 10th, the date on which I sent my original letter.

"With reference to your last paragraph, I beg to enclose a copy of my letter addressed to you on February 12th, and of the enclosure, which was a copy of a telegram which I forwarded to the League of Nations on the evening of February 11th. The receipt of my letter of February 12th is acknowledged in the chit book by the seal of your Consulate-General.

"With reference to the contents of your letter under reply, I note that the Naval Authorities have asked you to express their deepest regret that many flood refugees have been subjected to a serious disaster by bombing. This expression of regret I shall have pleasure in forwarding to the Chairman of the Commission for notification to its members.

"With regard to the suggestion that the camp was located adjacent to the Chinese position and was protected by barbed wire, I have the honour to repeat the statement contained in my letter of the 10th instant, that the camp lay two miles north-west of the North Railway Station and one mile from the nearest point on the Shanghai-Nanking Railway, and it cannot, therefore, be described as adjacent to the Chinese position. The statement that the camp was protected with barbed wire is mistaken.

"I have caused an enquiry to be made into the whole occurrence, and from that enquiry it appears that on February 2nd, before the camp was bombed, a Japanese aviator flew close over the camp and waved his hand to the occupants. As there were 3000 children in the camp at the time, he could not well have mistaken it for a military encampment.

"In addition, the bombardment of February 5th was preceded by machine gunning which injured a Mr. Ma who was present in the camp. As in order to machine gun the camp the aviator had to descend to a low altitude the suggestion that the camp was considered to be a military encampment would seem to be inexplicable.

"Finally I would draw your attention to the fact that a Red Cross flag was flying at the gate of the camp, and a Blue Cross flag over the hospital."

Comment, I think, is unnecessary.

There is the story of Shen Tung-lin who was a Kiang-wan farmer. He was forty-four years old. On February 24th Japanese soldiers forced an entry into his house and bound the eleven inmates. They were informed that unless they dug trenches for the Japanese they would be shot. They worked all night and at dawn saw that their house had been set alight. Three of them stole away. The rest were bound once more and shot at by the Japanese troops. Shen Tung-lin was the only one left alive. A neighbour who found him with a wound in the head brought him to the Continental building. He went mad.

The Japanese marines occupied the district where Hueng Yuan-kao lived. He was ordered to set fire to the houses round about. He refused and in Chin-yun-chiao the marines scooped out his eyes. He said he thought they used small knives.

In the second week of February two American residents signed affidavits and lodged them with the U.S. Consular authorities, describing the bayoneting and killing of an unarmed Chinese civilian by a Japanese sailor. They stated that they were driving their car

through the street fronting the property of the Comparative Law School of China belonging to the Southern Methodist Mission. This was raided and scaled by the Japanese military on January 30th. The Americans assert that, as they passed, a Japanese sailor was standing over the form of a Chinese in civilian clothes. The latter was lying quite still, slightly on his side. They saw the Japanese thrust his bayonet into the chest of the helpless civilian. Then he withdrew it and repeated the performance in a different place. He did this seven or eight times, until the man died. The sailor then joined his companions at the end of the street.

A British sergeant in command of troops patrolling certain streets, saw a Japanese soldier shoot and kill a Chinese boy who was stooping slightly. The Japanese was one of a section passing through in a truck. The sergeant reported the matter to his superior officer and the latter demanded an explanation. The reply was that the boy was "planning to throw a stone."

In *The Shanghai Evening Post and Mercury* we read of "women and children killed as they fled from burning houses. Nights of terror, filled with the moans of wounded and dying. The roar of death-dealing implements of warfare. . . . These horrors were seen, felt and heard by three foreign families who lived through the five days of a veritable nightmare in the Lincoln Terrace across from Hongkew Park. . . . Mr. Kren (a member of one of the three foreign families) told many tragic tales of the five nights. 'The streets were strewn with dead bodies,' he said. 'Yelping hungry dogs were tearing them apart. We could not see the bodies, there were so many dogs. . . . We saw dark figures creep up to a house and set fire to it. When the Chinese who lived there ran from the smoking houses they were shot down in their tracks. I saw four bodies slump to the ground as they left the doors. There were men, women and children. A Chinese shopwoman who lived across the street started to leave her shop, her baby in her arms, when she was shot down. The next day she was

still alive, her baby clinging to her. Chinese servants in one of the houses ran out and picked her up. When we left both she and the baby were still alive. When Chinese attempted to remove the bodies of the dead, they were assailed with rifle and machine-gun fire from the Japanese. They were forced to leave the bodies to rot, and to be torn apart by the dogs.' "

The following is an account by an American named Mr. Thackrey. "I visited the Kiangwan race-course to-day. I shall never be able to return without a shudder. My previous visits were to see the crowds of happy Shanghailanders on a race-day outing under a brilliant sun.

"This morning was just such a day overhead, but underneath nothing but horror. The entrances to my favourite stand were blocked with corpses. . . . Perhaps, as the official communiqués from Japanese headquarters say, these corpses had once been snipers, or even perhaps spies. I make no challenge, I just detail what I saw.

"There are women and children among them ; women shot through the back, their padded coats run through with military sabres ; children whose bodies are riddled with bullets ; men garbed as peasant farmers, heaped grotesquely about, their blood soaking the ground. They are not garbed as soldiers—not even the women and the children—so I suppose they must have been snipers—officially. I suppose so because my very dear friends at headquarters and the Japanese legation assure, at pains to point out to me, that the Japanese army and navy are not making war on civilians, not upon Chinese peasants, not upon the Chinese Government, nor upon Government troops, but merely on the 19th Route Army from Canton. So I suppose that those people who seemed so innocent to the casual eye must have been machine gunners and rifle men from the 19th Route Army, disguised as simple peasants. It is difficult to ask them now.

"The houses are burned ; I saw them burned, with

neat precision, not a wasted match, not an extra piece of kindling. . . . And as I walk the top rail, a tragedy unfolds beneath my eyes. A Japanese infantry company, just preparing for its duty in the hand-to-hand fighting on ahead in Kiangwanchen, pauses to watch the drama with me. . . . The flames from burning farm huts throw a curtain of red behind the new captive groups of those who fled the fire. An officer turns one of the peasant-garbed men away, to face the sun. His shining sabre flashes, up to its hilt in the human sheath ; the body falls ; a second takes its place, and once again the sabre finds its pulsing scabbard. And now a diversion. The next, a tall lad, is flung unbound face down. As he falls the volley from six officers' revolvers makes a minor outline on his back. . . . I leave, for fear is on me. My feet are lead."

In Manchuria in the Tunghua district, some thirty peasants were imprisoned. They were bound, and for five days given no food. Their drink was water flung over them by Japanese troops. At the end of that period they were carried out, still bound, and shot. At least a third of them were merely wounded. They were then left to the mercy of the hungry straying dogs. I have said that at least a third of them were merely wounded. They were eaten alive while the soldiers looked on. . . . Rape is, I suppose, unavoidable in war, but the stories of young Chinese women who were stripped and violated by the Japanese soldiers are unutterable. There are tales of mere children savagely used to satisfy the lust of the officers and men. To refer once again to the Fushun massacres ; there, thousands of the Chinese peasants were forced to kneel down. Then the machine-guns started. Those that ran away were picked off by the soldiers. Those that were wounded were bayoneted.

So I will close. But first I will speak once more of the interview of Mr. Ward Price with the Emperor of Japan. The latter said : " I know you are working to maintain the good relations which exist between Great

Britain and Japan. I sincerely hope that you will continue to do so, for upon them depends the welfare of the whole world and the maintenance of peace in the Far East." I cannot believe that *The Daily Mail* agrees with this sentiment. On February 28th of this year, the day after England had put an embargo on exportation of arms to both China and Japan, there appeared a letter in *The Daily Express*: "Some years ago, in our European war, we were only too glad of Japan's co-operation; now, when she wants a little war of her own (she doesn't even ask us to join in) in the Far East, England, among other Western Powers, becomes self-righteous and peace-loving, and does her level best to prevent Japan from fighting.

"I consider this unsportsmanlike and un-British."

VIII. "*Manchukuo*."

A very brief sketch of the formation of the "State of Manchukuo" by Japan is necessary in that it indicates the fact that Japan intends to keep the wealth of the country for herself. Following the events of September 18th and 19th, it was essential to reorganise the civil administration of Mukden and in a lesser degree that of the Province of Fengtien. The Japanese undertook this and, it must be confessed, achieved their object with a remarkable speed and unlooked-for efficiency. In fact there appears little doubt that this emergency had, like the attack of the previous twenty-four hours, been thoroughly prepared. The Civil Governor of the Province, General Tsang Shih-yi, thought it best for his people to assist Colonel Doihara of the Japanese Army to round up the Chinese police, and an Emergency Committee was formed with the Colonel at its head. The majority were, of course, Japanese. On October 10th the municipal government was restored to a qualified Chinese body. In the meantime an attempt was made to form a provincial government over the whole of Manchuria, but independent of the Chinese Central

Power. Tsang Shih-yi was approached with this view, but refused to accept the position, and an ex-provincial governor, named Yuan Chin-kai, together with eight other Chinese residents, was invited to form a "Committee for the Maintenance of Peace and Order." This was declared on September 24th. Incidentally the declaration was proclaimed throughout Japan as a retrocession, but this was hotly denied by the Committee. During the next month a Board of Finance and a Board of Industry were opened by the Committee, with Japanese advisers attached to each body. The directors were forced to obtain the approval of the Japanese military authorities before issuing any orders. Further, a North-eastern Communications Committee was formed which gradually assumed control of all railways. In the meantime the Committee had changed its name to the Liaoning Self-Government Office. This was separated from the Committee on November 1st. On the 10th of that month after a declaration to the effect that it had severed its relation with the Chinese Government a formal public opening ceremony took place. Next a Supreme Advisory Board was called with Yuan Chung-han, vice-director of the original Committee, as chairman. Once more the main object was said to be the maintenance of order. A somewhat similar government was formed in Kirin under General Hsi Hsia, and Japanese functionaries were scattered plentifully throughout the departments. Similar administrations were formed in the Special District of the Chinese Eastern Railway under General Chang Ching-hui. On this Committee there served a General Ting Chao, who in January 1932 took power from him, and retained it until he was defeated by the Japanese and Chang restored. Chang was also appointed to the Province of Heilungkiang. As regards Jehol the matter was more complicated, although General Tang Ju-lin is said to have assumed responsibility and to have kept in touch with his colleagues in Manchuria.

Without further alteration the "State of Manchukuo"

was declared, mainly through the Self-Government Guiding Board at Mukden. As the Lytton Report remarks, to understand the ease with which the new State came into being, it must be remembered that unity in China was more inclined to the family or locality than the country. Patriotism has been growing slowly in China, and is to-day stronger than ever before in the twenty years of the Republic's life. Japan had anticipated that the civil wars and disturbances would tend to disrupt all national feeling. This has proved the reverse of truth. At no time is China more likely to be united than in the near future, and Japan has only herself to blame. Had Japan encouraged the Chinese of Manchuria, instead of using coercion, and not placed so many restrictions over them, it is possible that many of the replies to the Commission of Enquiry would have been indifferent rather than hostile.

The Board mentioned in the last paragraph issued propaganda leaflets calling upon the people to unite, and demanding the overthrow of Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang. In the meantime on February 14th, General Ma, whose attitude had previously been somewhat vague, was appointed Governor of Heilungkiang, and after a meeting of the Governors of the four districts, together with Dr. Chao Hsin, at the second day of which two Mongol Princes attended, the Supreme Administrative Council was constituted. In addition to the Governors and the Princes, Lieutenant-General Chang Chinghui was a member. The declaration of independence was published on February 18th, and the "State of Manchukuo" came into being on the 28th.

Terrific propaganda drives followed. Literature of all kinds was distributed recklessly. Resolution followed resolution. Boards were constituted for every conceivable purpose. Mass meetings were held, and passed declarations of joy. For example, at Mukden some six hundred persons met, including every official who could be rounded up and all the Japanese advisers, and passed a motion which expressed the untold joy of the

16,000,000 inhabitants of the province. At Tsitsihar in February there was another mass meeting. The whole town was papered with scrolls, posters, pennants, etc., and the Japanese fired a volley of 101 guns. Aeroplanes circled overhead, and it is said that at least 4000 of the inhabitants turned out to see the fun. An all-Manchuria convention took place on February 29th, at Mukden. Seven hundred delegates attended, including a larger proportion of Japanese than Chinese, and a resolution was passed designating the ex-Emperor of China, Mr. Henry Pu Yi, as President of the new State. Six delegates were rushed off to Port Arthur to tell him the joyful news, but met with a blank refusal. On March 4th, twenty-nine delegates visited him and he accepted. The Japanese had in the interval used pressure. The Powers were notified on March 12th, that "Manchukuo" had come into being.

"The President of the new State made a declaration that he promised to found the policy of the country on morality, benevolence and love."—Lytton Report.

To continue : the heads of the Government and of the local administration are purely Chinese. The Japanese hold position of advisers. In every channel there are Japanese. "The organisation," says the Lytton Report, "is such as to give to these officials and advisers opportunities, not merely of giving technical advice, but also of actually controlling and directing the administration. . . . The liaison between the 'Manchukuo Government' and Japanese official authority is still further emphasised by the recent appointment of a special ambassador, not officially accredited, but resident in the capital of Manchuria, exercising in his capacity of Governor-General of the Kwantung Leased Territory a control over the South Manchuria Railway Company, and concentrating in the same office the authority of a diplomatic representative, the head of the Consular Service, and Commander-in-Chief of the Army of Occupation."

The next step for Japan was to secure recognition of "Manchukuo." They had hoped to earn this previously

by designating it as a state, and by means of arbitration with themselves in the matter of public utilities. They actually sent a telegram to themselves in Tokyo over the revenue of the Chinese Customs and published it in *The Osaka Mainichi*. Having seized the Customs funds accumulated at each of the four ports, and which amounted to some 18,000,000 hk. tls., they sent the despatch which ended: "The independence of the Dairen Maritime Customs has become an established fact." Included in the seizure was 500,000,000 hk. tls. on deposit in the Yokohama Specie Bank, which the latter refused to part with under any circumstances! Such was the birth of "Manchukuo."

IX. Komai—Chief of the General Affairs Bureau.

Before coming to the chapter dealing with the Staffs and the Kais, mention must be made of the "China Wave Men Society." At their head is an old gentleman named Ryohei Uchida, and linked with him is a temperamental adventurer named Komai. The Wave Men are super-patriots. Their hunting-ground is China, and on this country they have concentrated for many years. Recently Mr. Komai was elevated to the honourable position of Privy Councillor to the independent "State of Manchukuo." It is indeed curious that a foreigner should be so honoured, if the new State is really independent. He is also the chief of the General Affairs Bureau. This means that Mr. Tokuzo Komai is the vice-king of "Manchukuo." A general of the Imperial Japanese Staff named Mudo was put in command of the military. Komai, through his Privy Councillorship, is the nominee of the Staff in Japan proper. His status enables him to act as a sort of super-spy on their behalf. Although a civilian he has long been the pet and protégé of the military in Japan. His function is to hold a watching brief on all the nominal heads of the new State on the civil side, while General Mudo does the same thing in the defence spheres.

Komai has been associated with the Wave Men for a considerable time. The term Wave Men is a survival of the Japanese feudal age, and indicates those who have either lost their Lord or severed their connection with him, and, in either case, have become wanderers, like waves. In actual fact every secret or semi-secret group of hyper-patriotic assassins calls itself or its members "ronin," or wave men, but one group will not necessarily have any dealings with another group. The leaders of these groups are the tools of the reactionary military power, famous in Japan to those who are aware of the weird and wonderful machinations that go on behind the scenes of Japanese politics. Each leader's home is a sort of citadel, where he lives surrounded by his retainers in almost feudal atmosphere. Lawful authority rarely dares to trespass on their grounds. The police and the Staffs are the strongest supporters of the Kais, and they make it their business to see that the leaders are in no way disturbed. It is in their homes that the many unofficial conferences take place with Asiatic leaders, and where meetings of Pan-Asiatic groups are held. They may be the refuge of Asiatic renegades or of those fleeing from justice. We may compare the five big bosses of the Kais to Rasputin. They are the leaders of the politico-patriotic groups of Japan. The senior of the five men is Mitsuru Toyama. Next comes Ryohei Uchida, Umpei Ogawa, Yasugoro Sasaki (the white-bearded recluse known as the "king of Mongolia"), and the latest addition, the priest Nissho Inouye. The last-named leads a group known as the Blood Brotherhood, so called from the initiation ceremony, when the new member cuts the tip of his little finger and mixes his blood with that of his fellow-conspirators. This group was responsible for the assassination of the Minister of Finance, Mr. Inoue, and of the heads of the big financial houses such as Baron Dan of Mitsu's. Actually there are 74 patriotic Kais in Japan proper, but the one with which I propose to deal at this point is the China Wave Men.

For years the members of this Kai have been concentrating their thoughts and movements on grasping power in Manchuria and later on in China, with the ultimate view of ruling over the whole of the continent of Asia. Ever since the Russo-Japanese War, Wave Men have been spying out the possibilities in Manchuria and China. It is said that they have been subsidised from the Special Intelligence Department Fund. They have played the part of clerks, commercial travellers, farmers, pilgrims, priests, hawkers, beggars, and in fact every possible role throughout Manchuria, Mongolia and the coastal districts of China. If they discovered anything of importance an officer despatched by the General Staff would follow and take up the investigation. There is one difficulty that most of these spies cannot overcome entirely, that of language. They are all able to read the Chinese ideographs, provided that their education has been sufficiently advanced, but as a nation the Japanese are peculiarly poor linguists. The multitude of Wave Men in China and particularly in Manchuria increase their incomes by the sale of females. Long before any Japanese financier could be persuaded to invest his money in Manchuria there were brothels where the women were almost entirely Japanese. To-day nearly every village has its quota of these female Japanese expansionists.

I have said that one Kai may not have any dealings with another group, and while this is so there is a strong sense of unity among them. In 1918, when speech was more free in Japan than it is to-day, a certain Dr. Yoshino challenged the Kais, and inferred that they were not only corrupt and dangerous but against public interest. Representatives called on him to argue and to threaten, but Yoshino refused to keep his mouth shut. He challenged the leaders to a debate on the matter and Uchida was chosen to defend the societies. So fearful were the public of the consequences that only 400 people attended the meeting, and out of that 400 more than half were members of the police force.

To return once more to Mr. Komai. He was for ten years with the South Manchuria Railway, and he has wandered all over Manchuria. It is interesting to note that on May 18th, 1931, Komai was visited by a Major Tagaki, a representative of the General Staff of the Imperial Army in Tokyo. It is also remarkable that Mr. Komai left for Manchuria early in September without apparent objective, and that the outbreak of hostilities did not take place until the 18th. At his meeting with Major Tagaki every plan for the conquest of Manchuria was discussed. Komai confessed that at this interview they decided to "demand the protection of their 'life-line' at the point of the bayonet." And again: "The measures were outlined which the Japanese Government ought to take in the settlement of Manchurian and Mongolian problems." It was Komai's idea to seize Marshal Chang Hseuh-liang's capital, which was the first step of the invasion.

This short section on Komai is merely one of many illustrations of the type of person who is associated with the new state of "Manchukuo." Komai is one of the big men behind the scenes in Japan, and has been so for many years. Is Manchuria or "Manchukuo," call it what you will, so free, so utterly independent as the Japanese would have us believe? Why does the one man who has spent years concentrating his life on Japan's behalf in the matter of spying, become head of a new State? It does not speak well for the future of "Manchukuo."

X. "*Manchukuo*" and the Future.

Since the conquest of Jehol in Inner Mongolia, "Manchukuo" has been renamed by certain Japanese. The new title is "Mammon." While it sounds somewhat like a poor joke to English-speaking people, its derivation lies in the ideographs, "Mam" being Manchuria, and "Mon" Mongolia. It is extremely doubtful if Japan is capable of developing Manchuria any better

than the Chinese. Financially she is little better off. I have already shown that her treasury at home is in a parlous condition, and the development of a vast area such as Manchuria, which is in its infancy as regards the exploitation of its natural resources, requires an enormous amount of capital. How can Japan raise this capital? She cannot hope to get the best out of the people by subjectory methods. As the Lytton Report shows, there is an almost unanimous feeling of hostility towards the new regime. The appalling atrocities that she has committed, and is committing, against the people will never be forgotten. It is doubtful if they will ever be alleviated. We have other examples of Japan's methods in colonisation, development, training or ruling, call it what you like, in Korea and Formosa and in the other islands of the Pacific that come under her sovereignty. She is ruthless in her ways. She is a nation of cruel and lustful men. She does not keep her word. She has broken treaty after treaty, pact after pact. She is corrupt in mind and body, and still has her love of bloodshed. How will the people of "Manchukuo" fare under this nation?

Supposing the possibility of better treatment for the people of "Manchukuo" became a fact, what would the inhabitants of Morning Calm do? The latter are a crushed and subject nation, but they are not broken. They have no rights, either of citizenship or of representation. Even if they wish to use a public telephone they have to fill up an official form. If the people of "Manchukuo" do receive better treatment, will the Koreans accept their own fate quite as calmly? There is going to be trouble for Japan in Korea unless she treats the Manchukuoites in the same manner as the Koreans. If she does treat them in the same way she will have trouble in "Manchukuo." Japan has taken on a job that is going to end badly for her.

Throughout the interviews with Chinese in Manchuria the Commission of Enquiry met with the remark: "We do not want to become like Korea." But that is not the

only danger for Japan. There is a growing patriotic movement throughout China. It is not backed up by the fanatical self-righteousness of Shinto, there is no feeling of racial superiority over the rest of the world, but a tremendous sense of having been wronged by Japan and of being misunderstood by the whole world. There is, too, a feeling that the Powers have let her down, as indeed they have. China accepted the advice of the League of Nations, she followed their suggestions of non-aggression implicitly in the hope or in the belief that they would support her finally. Her comparatively peaceful policy may have been swayed by the knowledge that she was not ready, but she has the knowledge that there are nearly five hundred millions who will one day throw off Japan. One day, I cannot say when, China will be united into a mighty people; it may be twenty years, it may be a hundred, but that day will come and then Japan will be no more. The octopus of the East will in turn be swallowed up, completely annihilated. I do not say that in the meantime Japan will not overrun China. She may overrun the whole of Asia, she may even venture into America or Europe, but finally will come the reckoning and she will pay.

In the meanwhile she is muzzling "Manchukuo." She has already obliterated the foreign Press. She has turned out the management of the English-printed newspapers. The orders have been given by some Chinese official, merely because he was told to do so. *The Manchurian Daily News* has changed its editor. There was a farewell dinner given on February 23rd of this year to the retiring editor by the Dairen Club. In his speech he informed his hosts that he was advised to quit; "to take the chance to make a decent retreat, not waiting until I should have to run for my very life like a hunted rabbit. I agreed to quit on the spot. In telling you this I wish to impress upon you that I have not quit voluntarily." *The Japan Weekly Chronicle*, in commenting on his departure, says: "The glory of *The Manchurian Daily News* is departed. It will henceforth be a propa-



CHINESE CIVILIANS OF CHAPEI AWAITING QUESTIONING AT THE POINT OF THE BAYONET



A VIEW OF THE NORTH STATION, SHANGHAI, AFTER JAPANESE BOMBARDMENT

gandist sheet and, judging by the samples already shown, a pretty bad one." Is China, is the world, going to allow the day to come when more than 80,000,000 souls are to be used as scapegoats in the way that the Koreans are used? Is there going to be a repetition of the traffic in female flesh that we have witnessed in the other colonies of Japan? Already the traffickers and middlemen are reaping a rich harvest in this trade, and daily one can see advertisements for women in the vernacular Press of Japan. They are couched in very careful language, but for the young girls the result is the same. Here is a typical example. One of the many Japanese hotels in Manchuria advertises for anything from thirty to forty women. In the terrible state of trade in Japan thousands of girls will jump at the chance of earning some money. Once in the hotel they will never leave it except for some other brothel. The numbers of dealers in women are increasing. They supply young Japanese girls with the third class fare and from that day the girl will be a prostitute. *The Japan Weekly Chronicle* remarks: "It might have been supposed that this sort of thing would be avoided as far as possible if only because it does not increase in Chinese eyes the respect in which they hold Japan. But this does not appear to disturb authority in the least, and the enterprising persons who make haste to turn new conquests to advantage know that they can make more money out of taking women into the wilds than out of taking men." I have put forward the possibility of Japan treating the people of Manchuria comparatively well. I consider that this chance is extremely remote, and base my conclusions on the other examples that are available of Japan's methods when other races are in their power. If they can treat the Eta, who are true Japanese, little better than the lowest animal, what chance have Chinese people to expect from a nation that has been fed on propaganda for years? When the whole of the Japanese people believe that they are Children of the Gods, that they have some divine right to rule the world, that all other races are barbarian or monkeys, to

what treatment can these barbarians look forward ? When the Staffs and Kais have been telling the Japanese people that China has been breaking treaties, has been doing all she can to get Japan out of Manchuria, when the latter land has been regarded for twenty years as part of Japan, what hope have the true inhabitants ? If Japan can make the whole of Chosen believe that the Chinese were massacring Koreans as a result of the Wanpaoshan Affair, what can she make her own people believe ? The lot of the " Manchukuoites " is going to be harder even than it is at present. The atrocities of which I have spoken will be continued until the people are crushed, but Japan will never break them. Nor will China ever forget.

I cannot give an opinion as to Japan's possibilities of developing Manchuria. I have mentioned before the hesitation of her own financiers to invest money in the State. One reason is the distrust of their own national finances, and another the desire to refrain from pouring money into a country that they may be forced to return to China. As an example of the curious monetary difficulties in April of this year *The Japan Advertiser* reported the Staff method of raising money. They said : " Last week Lieutenant-General Kuniaki Koisi, Chief of Staff of the Kwantung Army, requested the Mitsui Busan, the Mitsubishi Oil, Nippon Oil, Ogura Oil, and the South Manchuria Railway Companies to send representatives to a meeting in Changchun. Upon their arrival they were told that a Manchukuo oil concern was to be established and that each of them was expected to contribute 500,000 yen towards its capital of 3,000,000 yen. The remaining shares would be held by the Government of ' Manchukuo ' but are not to be paid up immediately. The oil company representatives further were informed that the new concern would build a refinery at Hulutao, the new port which ' Manchukuo ' hopes to develop, and that this plant would have a daily capacity of 4000 barrels of gasoline. It would begin operations with imported crude oil, probably from Russia. Several

objections have arisen. The first is that Hulutao is not an ice-free port and never will be. For three or four months of every year navigation is impossible. A further objection came from the South Manchurian Railway Company, which had already planned to erect a refinery of its own at Dairen without the assistance of other capital. The most important objection, so far not expressed publicly, is that the oil companies are certain that this means that 'Manchukuo' intends to establish a gasoline monopoly similar to its opium and tobacco monopoly, even though it may not be given that name. By leaving the tariffs against crude oil at nominal rates, and making those on distillates prohibitive, it will be able to deliver the entire market of Manchuria to this new company. At the same time they object that the proposed capital is too small."

With such backwardness on the part of Japanese investors it seems hardly probable that foreigners will come forward with any degree of readiness with their money. There is a possibility that the French may have some suggestions to make in that they are interested financially in the Chinese Eastern Railway through Russia. That the South Manchuria Railway Company is eager to attract foreign money is shown by the presence of the company's representative in Paris and in New York. However, if French or American money does find its way into the coffers of the railway company it will most probably be under the guarantee of the Japanese Government. Already they have had experience of Japanese financial manipulators at the time of the Tokyo City Loan. In April of this year the South Manchuria Railway Company published its budget and it appears to expect very good business for the coming year. The following excerpt from *The Japan Weekly Chronicle* gives a clear view of the relationship between the new "Manchukuo State" and the Railway Company. In actual fact it is a contract between a man in his official capacity as one of the rulers of the new State and the same man as director of the railway. "Manchukuo,"

the S. M. R. Co., and the General Staff, both Naval and Military of "Manchukuo" Councils are all working together. They are part and parcel of one another. They are, in fact, the "State of Manchukuo." Here is the budget of the Railway Company: "The Company has now secured Government approval of its business budget and new enterprise budget for 1933-1934. The business budget is as follows :

	Revenue (Unit—1000 yen.)	Expenditure (Unit—1000 yen.)
	yen	yen
Railway	95,530	33,344
Hotel	1,734	1,803
Port and Pier	9,909	7,450
Mining	53,908	56,395
Oil	3,983	3,503
Iron	9,677	12,768
Local	4,436	14,406
General	2,654	11,218
Interest	22,603	35,385
Reserves	—	1,000
	<u>204,434</u>	<u>177,272</u>

Profit . 27,162 (Unit—1000 yen)

"Compared with 1932-1933 revenue and expenditure show increases of 22,234,000 and 11,787,000 respectively, a gain of 10,787,000 in profit. The new enterprise budget is as follows :—

	(Unit—1000yen.)
	yen
Railway	4,389
Hotel	375
Port and Pier	839
Mining	4,183
Oil	11
Iron	396
Local	2,325
Miscellaneous	816
Reserves	<u>2,000</u>
	<u>15,334</u>

(Unit—1000 yen)

“ The above new enterprise estimate shows an increase of only a year ago. Such big items as the “ Manchukuo ” Mandatory Railway, the Showa Steel Works and the Sulphate of Ammonia Company have been made independent.

“ The South Manchuria Railway Company, which wants to raise 90,000,000 yen in debentures, invited syndicates bankers to its Tokyo office. Mr. Ikeda (Mitsui), Mr. Kushida (Mitsubishi), Mr. Mori (Yasuda), Mr. Ishi (Daiichi) and Mr. Yuki (Industrial) were all present. Count Hayashi, president, assisted by Admiral Godo and other directors, made a detailed explanation of the Company’s increase of capital to 800,000,000 yen as well as its financial programme in the ten years to come. For the materialisation of its new enterprises for the new business year, it was stated, the Company will require a little over 150,000,000 yen. The Company will make a call on unpaid capital amounting to 25,000,000 yen on May 1st, and this, together with the first payment on the new capital, will make a total of 61,000,000 yen. There will thus be a shortage of 90,000,000 yen. The management wishes to raise this sum through an issue of debentures. Count Hayashi asked the bankers present for their support. It was then arranged that Mr. Obuchi, a director, should discuss details with the syndicate. It is understood that the debentures will be issued in three instalments.”

Now regarding my statement that the above company is with and part of the Government of the “ Manchukuo State,” I can only once again quote *The Chronicle*. The article appeared in March of this year. It runs : “ Some time ago *The Chronicle* was instructed by the police to delete from the weekly edition an article concerning the railways in Manchuria which were under Japanese management, this publication having infringed one of the multitude of prohibitions of news. In yesterday’s issue, however, the statement of Mr. Pao Kuenichen, the Manchurian diplomatic representative in Tokyo, confirms and even extends the information conveyed in the

prohibited article. The main feature of the arrangement entered into between the South Manchuria Railway Company and the 'Government of Manchukuo' is that the railway company takes over the management of all railways in Manchuria (except apparently the Chinese Eastern Railway) and undertakes all new construction and management. The agreement begins by pointing out that effective co-ordination of the working of all the railways, hitherto carried on under separate managements, is necessary for peace and order and for industrial progress. To most Japanese accustomed to a railway system almost completely nationalised, this will seem a truism ; but as some of the most advanced countries in the world have arrived at a high stage of transportation efficiency with no such unification, it will be regarded elsewhere as an argument for control rather than efficiency. However, the South Manchuria Railway is obviously the best organisation to undertake the task. 'Moreover the arrangement happens to be a convenient one.' That is also clear because some of the railways were constructed by the South Manchuria Company and the cost of construction has not been completely repaid. In some cases repayment has hardly begun. And as 'Manchukuo' has taken over all these liabilities, the South Manchuria Railway can best be satisfied of a real endeavour to pay, as well as of expert management, if it takes over the control itself.

"The liabilities taken over from the Chinese Government along with the railways and the territory are put at 180,000,000 yen. But the South Manchuria Railway is taking over not only the lines which it constructed for the late Government but also those which the Chinese constructed for themselves with their own capital, such as the Takushan-Payintala line, the construction of which was strongly opposed by the Japanese Government, the Kirin-Hailung, the Tsitsipar-Koshan, the Hulan-Hailun, et cetera. The lines to be taken over by the South Manchuria Railway also include that part of the Peking-Mukden line north of Shanhaikwan. There

is a good deal of British money invested in this line, and no little anxiety has been expressed as to its fate. To the shareholders it is a matter of as much concern as the South Manchuria line is to the people who have invested money in that enterprise ; but it has not been protected in any way or spared any of the ravages of war. Apparently there is a plan to buy the shareholders out, as it is specially mentioned in the agreement that the settlement in connection with this line is to be left for future arrangement. All the property and revenues of the various Chinese railways and of the one constructed with British capital are to constitute security for the money still owing to the South Manchuria Railway Company on account of the other lines constructed by it for China. All debts and claims of these lines also become debts and claims of the South Manchuria Company.

“ There are some interesting points arising out of these arrangements. For instance, the Japanese Government has always upheld the right of the S.M.R. to maintain fifteen soldiers per kilometre until conditions are so stable and quiet that they shall not be required. Presumably this right can now be extended in case of need to every line that has been taken over. In spite of many reports that the pacification was practically complete there is still some lack, under the ‘ Manchukuo ’ Government of that freedom of the trains from molestation which prevailed for twenty-five years after the close of the Russo-Japanese War. The following is significant : ‘ The Kirin-Tunhua line management ordered all standing timber within 250 metres of the railway on each side to be cut down as speedily as possible as an anti-bandit measure. Around each station the belt to be cleared is 500 metres in radius. Due to the tamperings with the railway over a few dozen times since last year through brigand machinations, the Kirin-Changchun line is also taking the same precautionary measures ! It is only since the Hsinking Government has been in existence that it has been found necessary to make the railways

run through a belt of desert despite which there have been more interruptions than ever before in the history of the province. Considering the great value of the timber and the great convenience of growing crops as near the railway as possible, these measures, suggestive of a state of war, indicate no great confidence in the power of the Hsinking Government to get control of the situation.

"The new agreement puts the South Manchuria Railway Company into a position of influence which must be unique. The capital is to be increased and the subjects of 'Manchukuo' are to be allowed to participate as shareholders. Under the old regime this was also the case, but the Chinese showed no inclination to take advantage of their opportunities. It remains to be seen whether as Manchus they will show any greater inclination. The railway must in any case remain predominantly Japanese in its share ownership, and, by virtue of the Japanese Government's large holding, remains practically a Government organ. With its right to maintain military protection, it will be in a position of absolute control of the whole country. Under these conditions the maintenance of order should be comparatively easy. One can hardly imagine an arrangement more satisfactory to Japan. There may of course be doctrinaires among the Manchus who will complain that they have not attained that degree of independence they had expected when thirty million inhabitants demanded freedom. If they want yet another name for Manchuria this agreement for co-operation suggests the appropriateness of Mantetsukuo—'Southmanchurailwayland.' "

I will leave the reader to judge for himself from the above evidence. I am no economist, but I think that I should want a fairly high percentage for my money before I would even consider investing it in Manchuria under Japanese rule. I do not say that I should be willing to hand over my life savings to the Chinese Government, far from it, but I would rather run a

business under Chinese civil authority than under Japan.

In "Manchukuo" the Japanese plan is to cultivate cotton. *The Osaka Mainichi*, in April of this year, writing on this subject, said: "If the cotton programme is completed Japanese spinners will be able to cover their demand for cotton to the amount of approximately 1,800,000,000 kin (1 kin is equal to 1.33 lbs.) with the Manchurian products instead of purchasing them from the U.S.A. and British India. The view of the Rev. Kozui Otani on the self-sufficiency of raw cotton has been adopted by the Association.

"Raw cotton can be procured in more than twenty counties in the provinces of Mukden and Jehol, with a total acreage of approximately 12,225,000. Of the total from 2,450,000 to 2,940,000 are suitable for the cultivation of American cotton." Now this opinion is based on the conclusions of a certain gentleman of whom we have spoken previously. The Rev. Kozui Otani is the same financier who was high priest of the Higashi Honganji temple in Kyoto. We have already spoken of his enterprises in the economic world and have told how they ended in the attachment of his palace by the court.

The general budget of the new State at the end of its first fiscal year amounted to 113,308,055 "Manchukuo" yen. (The "Manchukuo" yen is the same, or has the same value, as that of Japan.) There is also a supplementary budget amounting to 24,648,945 "M." yen. Out of this 16,948,945 are to be allotted for North Manchuria relief work and for "peace preservation activities." Other sums are to be divided between the Opium Monopoly Bureau and for the Capital Construction Bureau. On February 28th, the anniversary of the "State of Manchukuo," declarations of the "economic policy" were sent out from the capital and from Tokyo. These stated that "the principal industries shall be managed by the Government direct or by 'Special Companies.'" So much for the open-door policy. This, taken into consideration with the powers of the South

Manchuria Railway Company, gives a shrewd idea of what is happening in "Manchukuo" as regards trade and the possibilities of the rest of the world in enjoying equal chances with Japan. The Manchukuo State Bank is nothing more or less than an extension of the Japanese State Bank. It is a moot point as from whom the leased territory of Kwantung is now leased. If the State is an independent power, what are the Japanese troops doing there? At the head of the Naval Department is the Japanese Admiral Kobayashi. General Mudo is in command of the army. Komai is at the head of the civil administration of the Government. A Japanese bank's extension manages the currency, and the railway company whose shareholders are the Japanese Government controls the transport. Further, as quoted above, the important industries are all to be State controlled. *The Japanese Weekly Chronicle*, under the heading of "Manchukuo and Commercial Development," says: "Gordian knots have been cut by dozens in Manchuria during the past eighteen months. There is something grimly amusing now in the perusal of that extremely able study of the whole legal position in Manchuria by Dr. C. Walter Young. . . . In the short time that had passed since its publication those things have been done which could not be done (that is legally according to Dr. Young) and those things which could be done cannot now be done. In short, armies exist for the purpose of tearing up all laws and allowing new ones to be made until it is time to tear them up in turn. But there is continuity to consider nevertheless. We cling to the remnants of law, however tattered and fragmentary they may be, for we have no other guide. . . . Assuming that 'Manchukuo' has come to stay, and that all concerned must find out exactly how they stand, the first question that arises is over the Leased Territory of Kwantung. 'Manchukuo' is now having its own Customs service and may be expected to revise the tariff to suit its own and Japan's convenience. That China is unable to fulfil her undertakings to other nations

owing to the creation of 'Manchukuo,' which admittedly could not have been achieved except with Japan's help, brings the treaty rights and privileges of other countries into the picture. It is not merely a question between China and Japan and 'Manchukuo,' in which nobody else has a right to say anything. Of course, one method of settling it, for which precedents might be found, would be to demand 'compensation' from China—and independent North China under British auspices and an independent South China under French auspices—and feeling would be considerably strained before that was settled, while Germany and Italy would want compensation elsewhere. That, however, is a method of settlement which we may hope has been abandoned for ever. . . . Something might be said for demanding a price for recognition—so many years' freetrade and most-favoured nation for instance. But even that method is out of favour, and perhaps it is not considered politic to try it? There are statements circulating that a rule is soon to be enforced, 'No recognition, no visa.' (Since officially confirmed.) America has not yet recognised Soviet Russia, but plenty of Americans travel through Russia nevertheless. Is 'Manchukuo' more proud and haughty than Russia in its dealings?

"Many complications arise in respect of coastal trading regulations and Customs duties. When the plan for making Japan self-supporting in iron and steel by means of a protected industry was first conceived, prolonged discussion followed as to whether the projected Showa Works should be established at Anshan (and the duty paid on entering Japan) or at New Wiju, across the Korean border, and be duty free. It seemed to be finally settled that the works were to be at New Wiju, and then came the proclamation of 'Manchukuo's' independence, since when no more has been heard of the necessity of the works being in Japanese territory and the decision had been announced to establish them at Anshan. How the difficulty about the duty has been disposed of has not yet been mentioned.

"Yet another complication that affects foreign interests arises in respect of the Dairen Kisen Kaisha. This Japanese line was established at Dairen, and its ships (mostly purchased abroad) were registered there, thus avoiding the import duty which ships purchased abroad have to pay before they can be registered in a Japanese port. But the Dairen line's ships could not carry between Japanese ports, though there was no objection to carrying between Dairen and Japan. In spite of this clear indication that Dairen is outside coastal shipping regulations, there is always a great fuss when a foreign ship attempts to exercise its right of carrying cargo between Japan and Dairen. On occasion the Communications Department waives the restriction, and allows a Dairen Kisen Kaisha boat to do some specified trading between Japanese ports. The line is now asking for a great extension of this privilege. . . . (It wishes to carry) produce from the New Korean port of Seishin to Niigata, on the Japanese sea-coast. . . . This means that a large part of 'Manchukuo's' export trade must come through a port at which a foreign ship cannot even call. . . . If Seishin were declared an open port, foreign ships could take very little of Japan's coastal trade. . . . To the Japanese lines, trading between British ports is a very important matter. . . . We may have some pretty discussions if the attempt is made to direct a large part of Manchuria's export trade through a Japanese closed port."

Elsewhere in this work I have indicated the chances of a foreigner in a Japanese court of law, when his opponent is a son of Nippon. To-day we are faced with the inconceivable situation of Japanese officials being sent to Manchuria to watch court cases. Even more incongruous with this independent State is the fact that already forty-five Japanese judges and lawyers have arrived in Harbin. They will function throughout that town and in the province of Kirin. Gradually this system will extend to the whole of Manchuria and Japanese watchers and advisers will be everywhere.

Thus Japan will be able to disclaim every responsibility to the world, and at the same time will be in a position to control every detail of the working of the State.

For a moment let us consider the new law in Japan proper, which will, presumably, be extended by the advisers into "Manchukuo." I will quote *The Japan Weekly Chronicle*. It says: "Prisoners, political, submitted to examinations that have lasted for years before they have been brought to trial, are to be sentenced to heavy terms of imprisonment." This will be still further aggravated owing to the new law referred to, called the "Peace Preservation Law." This, the result of a conference of high officials on April 20th of this year, states that the period of detention of persons suspected of harbouring "dangerous thoughts" was to be extended. At least two months' detention before trial is said to be necessary. Now already in Japan it is possible to hold a person without limit. This is tantamount to a denial of justice, as the police have the power of emergency to hold a man on suspicion indefinitely, especially if the charge is "dangerous thoughts." In Manchuria this law, with the Japanese judge as the inquisitor, gives the litigant or the prisoner no chance at all. It is merely a blind to the world. As justice it is mockery.

In the matter of labour in the new State, the open door, as in trade matters, is again non-existent. There is a determined move at present which strives to man all the four hundred vessels plying on the river Sungari with Japanese crews only; and parts of the Sungari are far beyond the so-called Japanese sphere. There is again an attempt to replace every foreigner whether Chinese, Manchurian, White Russian, Korean or other on all ships within the "territorial" waters with purely Japanese crews. It seems that the well-advertised open door, viewed from any angle, is only open to Japanese. The Japanese delegate to the League of Nations, who poured forth a flood of inaccurate rhetoric on behalf of his country at the crucial time of Japan's trial, when he was appointed to another official position, this time in

"Manchukuo," once more let loose a torrent of eloquence. He announced magnificently that "there shall be no interference in the affairs of China." A truly remarkable piece of logical reasoning.

Throughout Japan and Manchuria there is a growing movement that aims to obstruct the active progress of the white races where they come under Japanese authority. The situation to-day is extremely delicate and there is not a little danger. Many of the foreign community have sent their families home, sensing the uncertainty. I have, earlier on, indicated the attitude of the populace generally towards barbarians, and especially that of the police. At the present time this anti-foreign propaganda is greater than at any time in the history of Japan. Anything that can be reported to show the people that the Powers are determined to crush the Children of the Gods is stretched and exaggerated until there is hardly a member of the nation that does not fear and loathe the white man.

Cases illustrating this are innumerable. The most recent was in reference to an order for a hundred Ford trucks ordered for North China. The Japanese Seamen's Union wirelessly the ship's crew to refuse to take the trucks to Tientsin. Workmen are refusing to start building motor-buses for Shanghai, because the order was placed by a British firm. In the case of the Nippon Kozai Co., of Kawasaki, the staff struck because the management was in American hands, although the company in question is American owned. There is no logic in these strikes, but it illustrates the intense patriotic fanaticism that Shinto is capable of fostering. An American wished to build oil tanks. He was hindered in every possible way. Stones were thrown at the American Consulate in Kobe. The vernacular Press does nothing to calm this hysteria; indeed, it is responsible for the hatred. All the papers are full of war feeling. There is a call to arms. Some suggest an immediate declaration of war on China, and a drive beyond the Great Wall until the whole republic is

conquered. It is again a case of "Der Tag" having arrived. Every raid on China proper is greeted with cries of Banzai. What hope is there for the people of Manchuria?

In the matter of Japanese immigration to Manchuria there have been unusual, though not unexpected, difficulties. The country, especially in the north, is extremely cold, and the Japanese farmer cannot stand the temperature. Consequently there is no apparent desire on the part of the nation to move over to the new part of the Empire. Now the Lytton Report made much of the necessity of Japan to expand. Personally I cannot see that this is any concern of China's, and events have proved that in the matter of Manchuria the Japanese have not taken readily to the suggestion of emigration. Incidentally there is an idea throughout the world that Japan is more in need of land than any other country, despite the fact that the number of people per square mile of *arable land* is considerably less than in the case of the United Kingdom, Belgium and one or two other European countries. Quotations from two despatches *re* immigration run as follows. Both are dated April 18th, of this year. "The South Manchuria Railway Company has decided to help Japanese farmers who wish to emigrate to Manchuria, expending an initial sum of 3,000,000 yen. While the Japanese Government is encouraging farmers for Manchuria and the Hsinking Government is welcoming them, sundry difficulties attend the emigration on account of the climate and the difference in the standard of living. While the Overseas Office has sent militia emigrant groups, the results have not been wholly satisfactory." "The Japanese Government has not yet made concrete plans for helping emigrants to Manchuria because of the expense involved. The Immigration Section of the 'Special' Department of the Kwantung Garrison is confining its activities to giving information to Japanese immigrants. Taking advantage of the increase of capital to 800,000,000 yen the S.M.R. Co. has decided to

take in hand the encouragement of Japanese farmers wishing to settle in Manchuria, giving them aid pending the establishment of an official government organ for helping the farmers to immigrate. The decision was made at the meeting of the directors on April 10th, and the plan was submitted to the Kwantung garrison for approval." (In view of the last sentence I would remind the reader of the Tanaka memorial.)

The militia groups referred to in this despatch are the China Wave Men. They are nothing more or less than a semi-military group sent by the Official Colonial Ministry. The other groups sent by patriotic organisations are members of other similar societies. They are mostly unmarried and are organised on a military basis. They wear a semi-uniform and can be mobilised instantly as soldiers, police or any other body. They form an army within the very heart of an independent State.

What of the future? The Lytton Report clearly indicates that the present regime, that is, the "State of Manchukuo," is most undesirable. Further, it is stated that a return to the former state is equally impossible. Presumably this meant a return to the former state of unrest, due to the differences and bitter feeling between the two nations. Whatever China owed to Japan in the matter of leases, rights, loans, etc., she has paid. If "Manchukuo" receives official recognition, or even unofficial recognition by a passive or negative policy on the part of the Powers, then the people of that territory will be ruled by terror. They will gradually be reduced to the status of the Koreans. They will have every right denied them and they will be crushed.

Why did Japan advance into China proper? On what grounds did she attack Peking? Her claims were that it was in the interest of "Manchukuo." "Manchukuo" is Japan. How can she assert that China is being provocative, that China is the aggressor, that she, Japan, is only too anxious for peace when her losses in the whole of Manchuria since September 18th, 1931, have been only 926 killed? That figure is a few months old. It

was the official number given out early in April of this year, at the annual service at the Yasukuni Shrine. In Shanghai, where the Chinese 19th Route Army more than held their own with the Japanese, the losses were 651. Shanghai was the only place where the Chinese deliberately and strenuously put up a fight. The Japanese navy lost 78 men. These figures seem to confirm the Chinese Government's claim that she has at no time actually disobeyed the League's instructions to refrain from provocation. Her losses, mainly members of bands of soldiers united under some patriot determined to die opposing the Japanese, and described by the latter as brigands, are enormous. The toll of her civilians is many, many times that of the total of the Japanese casualties. They are estimated officially as 12,936. This was in December of last year. Since then the numbers have increased. Of regular soldiers for the same period the figure was 20,215, of police 390, and for volunteers 25,618. The total is 58,248. The Japanese total for a period five months longer is 1650, of which more than two-fifths were killed in the few days' fighting at Shanghai. In Manchuria, under one thousand died, and their excuse for attacking China proper is that they are continually being harassed by the Chinese Army. And the League of Nations, including the British Empire, France, Italy, Germany, is behind China. The United States of America is in complete agreement with these Powers, and they urge China to refrain from adopting provocative measures. Their deeds amount to a motion of assent by their representatives at Geneva in passing a vote of censure on Japan. When will they learn ?

CHAPTER XII

THE REAL POWER IN JAPAN

IT was, I believe, Briand who described the Japanese as "a moderate people, they go on from concession to concession." This piece of sarcasm is correct up to a point, but it is wrong in the word people. I have explained before that there is no such thing as "people" in Japan. There are actually only three bodies worth considering in the matter of the country's policy: they are the Staffs, and with them I include the Kais, the Privy Council and the Cabinet. The great advantage that the Chiefs of the Staffs hold, lies in the fact that the Emperor of Japan is the Supreme Commander of all the national forces, and they have the right to approach him direct in an advisory status. 1907 was the first time that the Staffs attempted to gain control of the State. During the premiership of Tanaka there were, again, spasmodic efforts to make the army and navy independent of Government supervision. This desire for untrammelled freedom is in the blood of the military families of Japan. It is the old samurai spirit, when the head of the family answered to no man. After the restoration of the Imperial House the country was still ruled by military clans, especially by the combination of the Satsuma, the Tosa and the Choshi, popularly known as the "Sa-Tō-Chō. They cannot rid their minds of the fact that they are the historic and only genuine rulers and defenders of Shinto, in which is wrapped the Emperor, his ancestors, his descendants and his divinity. On this belief the Staffs base their amazing activities and machinations.

Civil and military authorities have never been friendly in the history of the country, and Japan is an entirely new country in so far as it is associated with Western conceptions of civilisations and political thought. The nation has little to gain from a perusal of its own history, so changed is the country since it has been opened up for trade with Europe and America. Yet with this change in conditions there has not been any mental development, and Shinto has been revived and fostered as a sort of bulwark to Western influence. The ideas that the Staffs have of themselves are comparable to the responsibility accepted by the tribe of Levi. They are the guardians of the Emperor, as were the Levites of the Holy Ark of the Covenant. Asia is their present dream, and they firmly believe that if they can conquer Asia the rest of the world will come automatically under their sway.

American and European statesmen are to blame in some degree for the misconception and almost total lack of understanding of Japanese mentality. Even the greatest of them all, Sir Harry Parkes, had to admit that he had never fully realised the extent and possibilities of Shinto. Without Shinto it is impossible to even begin to understand the Japanese. Without realising the fact that every Japanese *knows* that he is divine, and that no member of any other race shares this origin, no conception of the race or of their motives is possible. Japan has been included in nearly every Foreign Office in the "Far Eastern Department." Never has there been a sphere or department to deal with Japan alone, and without that special sphere it is utterly hopeless to begin to acquire any knowledge of the menace that lies behind Shinto and the military and naval staffs of Japan.

Five years ago I wrote to every head of every Far Eastern Department of every Power. I warned them of what would happen, I even prophesied the dates, and I was right. In all probability I was regarded as an hysterical fool, but had there been one iota of

understanding of the Japanese nation, my letters would have been unnecessary.

To-day the Staffs are in the saddle, and the world must be made to realise the menace that accompanies this. First I must go back to the root of the danger, Neo-Shinto. In the past six months this Neo-Shinto has been reborn. As it developed from Shinto, so in turn it has given way to what is known as Kodo. Shinto was the Way of the Gods. Kodo is the Way of the Emperor. The difference in name is psychological. It is easier to grasp. The Emperor is tangible, every Japanese can see him. They all know that he is divine and he is therefore something to fight for. Kodo was conceived and christened by General Araki, Minister of War.

I have mentioned the new thought that was creeping into Japan, which tended to deprecate the divine right of the race and of the Emperor. It was Kodo that finally crushed this. Araki is one of the principal organisers of the Manchurian invasion and he is the idol of the youth of Japan. He explained the new name for Shinto at a conference of the General Staff, and in public halls for the benefit of the nation. The essence of his speech is taken from *The Japan Weekly Chronicle*, whose report appeared on March 16th of this year. "It is a big mistake," says General Araki, "to consider the Manchurian problem from a merely materialistic point of view and regard it simply as a question of rights or interests or 'life line.' The trouble has arisen because the corrupt materialistic ideas of the Chinese people, imported from the West, have defiled the racial spirit and national morality of the Japanese to the firing-point. We Japanese are not afraid of blood, nor do we grudge to lay down our life for justice. [*sic.*] It is the Imperial House that is the centre of us. Herein lies the supreme virtue of the Imperial House. His Majesty is, ipso facto, Japanese morality, and to assist in promoting the prosperity of the Imperial House or the spread of Japanese morality is the basic principle of our existence. Lately, however, the burning national spirit has been on



GENERAL ARAKI, MINISTER OF WAR—FOUNDER OF KODO

the wane, it has been going down steeply. Capitalists are engrossed with calculation and profits to the neglect and welfare of society. Politicians run after party advantage, forgetful of the interest of the State. Who cannot but shudder at the outlook of the State when things are left dragging along in this condition? The cause of this sad plight is not far to seek. It is simple enough. It is because the Japanese people has come to lack self-consciousness as such and has ceased to have a correct idea of the Emperor's country. What will be left to Japan when the nation forgets the great spirit underlying the foundation of the country and loses its pride as Japanese? All sorts of evil will then close in upon the country. It is a veritable measure of Providence that the Manchurian trouble has arisen, it is an alarm-bell for the awakening of the Japanese people. If the nation is rekindled with the same great spirit in which the country was founded, the time will come when all the nations of the world will be made to look up at our Kodo. Kodo, the great ideal of the Japanese nation, is of such substance that it should be spread and expanded all over the world, and every impediment to it brushed aside—even by the sword.

“What is the present state of the East? India with its population of 800,000,000 lives in dire misery under Britain's oppressive rule. There is not a vestige of liberty left in the fertile plains of Central Asia and Siberia. Mongolia, that land of peace, has become a second Central Asia. The countries of the Far East are the object of pressure on the part of the White races. But awakened Japan can no longer tolerate further tyranny and oppression at their hands. It is the duty of the Emperor's country to oppose, with determination, the actions of any Power, however strong, if they are not in accord with Kodo. Do not worry about deficiency of strength or of material, everything depends on spirit. If anybody impedes the march of this country he should be beaten down ruthlessly and without giving any quarter, whatever the body may be.

“Let us march for the great idea, showing brightly forth the virtue of the sword included in the Three Sacred Treasures, which consists in killing a few for saving many. There is a shining sun ahead of Japan in this age of Showa. (The House name of the present Emperor.) As for the Manchurian affair, does it not afford a capital opportunity for making known to the outer world what Japan and her true spirit and value is like, and also a capital opportunity for all the people of Asia to exhibit the spirit and civilisation of Asia as against the two groups of Europe and America ?

“As a divine country in the Eastern Seas and the senior nation of Asia, Japan’s aspirations are great and her responsibility is heavy. Each single shot must be impregnated with Kodo and the point of every bayonet tempered with the national virtue. Victory or death, burning the bridge, there can be no distinction between army and people, or between civilians and soldiers. What massacre, what idle fighting could there be when the Imperial Army takes up arms ? It is very annoying to have our army spoken of in the same breath with armies of other Powers. We have no hesitation in declaring that we are a military nation—in the cause of Kodo and great morality. The military authorities are of late attacked in that they are having too much their own way in Manchuria, that they are too arrogantly and overbearingly interfering in politics and in the agrarian problem. All this is very annoying, being as it is a conception of the Imperial Army in the same light as the armies of Europe.”

That is Kodo, the newest form of Shinto in Japan. The first sequence was the formation of the “Kodo Kai.” By now it has a membership of nearly 20,000,000 men. It is growing every day and eventually will absorb the whole of the nation, men, women and children. In case I have not made my meaning clear I will say that Kodo involves the arming and training in warfare of the whole nation. The Japanese masses are ready for this, they know they are divine, they have been brought

up to admire the samurai families, they admire warfare and delight in bloodshed. For the first time they have an opportunity of equality, that is with the military clans. To the Japanese it is socialism, it is military socialism. It is a state of government of which the world has not yet heard. It means an army of at least 70,000,000 people. I have given photographs of the girls being trained in warfare. They are no pictures of mere drilling but rifle practice in every military position. *The Oriental Economist* dare not openly publish its conclusions, but it asks some pertinent questions on the new movement. It wants to know "how it is that an understanding came about that an intrusion of large capital groups upon the administration of the State of Manchukuo was very unwelcome? And why was it that, parallel with the starting of the affair abroad, more intense antipathy was shown for those ruling supreme in political and economic circles, and there were attempts to overthrow them? The real crux of the question lies not in matters located abroad but in factors within this country. To reform internal politics and to change the economic system—that is the hope or idea that has run, vague but intense, the thread on which every action is strung, since the Manchurian affair began."

It may be argued that there is a fairly extensive liberal opinion among the more level-headed in Japan, who will offer resistance against this new form of rule, but it must be remembered that the Staffs, through the Kais, have every nook and cranny throughout Japan filled with men who are ready to do their bidding. The police are with them to a man. The supreme power, in other words, is theirs. The liberal groups are thinkers, without the right to talk of their thoughts, whose followers are liable to arrest for their thoughts. Inukai was assassinated by the military. They are determined and ruthless.

To combat this menace the men of the West must move to the East. Otherwise Japan will carry out her

plan. General Araki gave the nation its motto but a month or two ago. He said : " Kill and give no quarter." Japan is desperate, she knows if her present moves fail she is financially and racially finished. She realises that she will become a nonentity. She will no longer be a Power.

I say the time is not far ahead when Japan will begin her campaign. Indeed, she has already started. She is south of the Great Wall of China. She states that she will not attack the Chinese unless their armies provoke her, but she is determined that they will provoke her. Araki has the nation behind him. They are ignorant people, they believe that the whole world is working quietly to suppress Japan, that the Western Powers wish to crush her, and this, with their fanatical hallucination in Shinto, or Kodo, makes them the menace that they are. The Western nations have always underestimated the strength of Japan, they are still doing so. Your Western statesmen will argue that no armies or navies can work without regular economic processes behind them. I answer : " No." Your Western statesmen have never seen or heard of a whole nation going to war, men, women and children, but they will witness this. In the near future Japan will march on China. It will not be a mere army, it will be a nation. I do not wish to suggest that 70,000,000 people will walk through Manchuria, but there will be the 70,000,000 if they are wanted. If Japan wishes to advance over the whole of Asia, to walk into the islands of the South Seas, she will do so and her people will obey their leaders. Kodo will be the cry, it will be a fanatical, religious army, trained perfectly, armed with the latest and most modern arms. They will be backed up with a fleet as efficient as any in the world. Their air force will be a match for any nation's and they will be comparatively near home. They will get their supplies as they march. They will put the inhabitants of the country to the sword if necessary to ensure their supplies. They know no mercy and will give none. They have everything ready. They



MITSURU TOYAMA
A leader of the Kains.

are, with "Manchukuo," self-supporting in war materials. Their eyes are on Siam, Shanghai, Singapore, Malaya, Burma, India, Hongkong, Hawaii, Australia, Indo-China and finally Great Asia.

I am prepared for the laughter of Western people. I am ready for every argument that they will put forward. They do not know the Japanese people. I claim to be the greatest living authority on Japan in either hemisphere. I am not boasting, I know the Japanese as no other "barbarian" on earth. It will be said that no military Power will be able to maintain power when the Cabinet and party change. In Japan political conviction is like cheap elastic. There, to obtain the name and station of Cabinet Minister, even the party leaders would be willing to cross the floor. Apart from this aspect of the vacillation of the Japanese M.P. there is a more effective method of control and one which is now an accepted fact. The organisation of a "Diplomatic Council" takes diplomacy completely out of the hands of the Foreign Office in the case of any friendly attitude to some Western Power being shown. In the future all foreign dealings will be in the hands of this council, and it will in turn be under the thumb of the Staffs. Cabinet Ministers will act as the mouthpieces of the Staffs. Fear of assassination will keep them moving in the channels that the Staffs desire. They are, and will be, mere puppets. Earlier in this volume I spoke highly of two men; since I started this chapter one of them has deserted and left Ozaki to fight a lone battle. Nitobe has been terrified into submission. He has been sent to America for propaganda purposes, but occasionally he still "forgets himself" and utters strange words for the super-patriot that he is now supposed to be. In April he said: "That nation is to be pitied in which every tenth person exercises a power of espionage, blackmail, threat and assassination, and if a sneak gets power he will convert the whole nation into spies and terrorists." But perhaps he was speaking of his own wretched experiences. With this state of affairs, when the whole

nation is obsessed by the Kais propaganda that "all the world is against peerless Nippon," it matters but little to the Staffs who is receiving the salaries for ministerial positions. The Privy Council is already in their grip and the most powerful member of that group shares the dreams of General Araki. Both of these persons belong to the same Shrine Shinto association whose teaching is beginning to have an immense influence on the people. Some extracts from an article written by an apostle of the latest form of Shinto, a certain Mr. Nakano, and published in *The Diplomatic Review*, will convey what is in the minds of the Staffs in regard to the future diplomacy of Japan. He attacks all three political parties in Japan. He asserts that the Minseito "suffer from fear," the Seugikai "from hesitancy," and the Seito, the National party, "from dilatoriness." He completely laughs national economics aside, and trumpets that "man-power is the greatest element of wealth. Japan has this, pre-eminently, in her people of 'superiority quality,' who excel in learning and are strong in fight. They are excitable, but they possess self-examination that defies the French and the Italians. They are backed by the Korean brethren and the 80,000,000 people of Manchuria, who have sworn co-operation with them. Spreading over Korea, Manchuria and Mongolia, we have 'picked' Asiatics numbering 180,000,000. This mass is what constitutes the essential element of Japan's military power and the root and stem of her economic strength. If this human element, peerless in the world, cannot develop a great industrial and economic Power, the fault must lie with the ignorance and impotence of the leading classes in political circles. Across a narrow strip of water is the natural wealth of the Maritime Province and Kamchatka. (These belong to Russia.) In China the eastward flowing rivers, and the sea power of Japan, the China Sea and the West Pacific are completely in the hands of our navy and the life-line on the Asiatic Continent is in absolute possession of our army. Should the Powers, unfortunately, take it into their

heads to proclaim an economic blockade against Japan, it will be in our power to make the best of the natural walls and barriers in Asia and blockade China, Manchuria, Mongolia, the Maritime Province and Kamchatka against the Powers, and the waters will be a Japanese lake.

"The market in the South Seas, Indian and Pacific Oceans is richer and more extensive than those Britain possessed in former days. It is the Heaven-appointed mission of the nation to take great leaps in the world, instead of meekly submitting to Europe and America in lording it over the world. The Japanese diplomats are fond of wearing morning and evening coats and affect an obsequious foreign language, the product of their subserviency to foreigners. The super-obsequious English that we have learned is largely used by servants to masters and mistresses. They have put up with all sorts of insults and national shame, but the patience of the Japanese is now exhausted." Nakano goes on to speak of what he calls the Western attack on the "Japanese Monroe Doctrine and their special rights." He continues: "It is only Japan's back-room, covered with fresh mats, that must needs be open to be trampled upon by the muddy boots of white people, who have gone to the length of a Special Commission to execute the sentence of those who have convicted us of infringement of the League Covenant and the Anti-war Pact. When things have come to the present pass, the nation should retire into, and take its stand in, the Far East, ready to face the possible enemy on all hands. That will be an attitude calculated to make the Powers think and revise their calculations. As for Russia, North Manchuria being now included in the new State of Manchukuo and its frontiers defended by Japanese forces, Russia's influence over North Manchuria and the Chinese Eastern Railway is lost. As for America, it is a matter of course that as now Britain cannot move and Russia cannot press on, she will not think of menacing Japan single-handed. Foreign Minister Uchida

delivered his famous speech, that he was prepared to see the country reduced to ashes, and at that time Stimson asked Admiral Pratt whether the American Navy was prepared for the worst. 'No,' was the answer. Should America fight Japan, sea power in the China Seas and the Sea of Japan would have to be abandoned to the Japanese Navy and America's trade with China given up. Nay, it would be necessary to relinquish even the Philippines and Hawaii. Should Japan make clear what she is resolved to do and that she will never yield, there will be a change in the Western front of diplomacy. If and when it becomes clear that Japan, isolated, will not bend to the League, disturbance cannot but arise in India and South Africa. At present the Powers are at their wits' end owing to the American banking panic, but the Commission will go on trying to shackle the hands and feet of Japan for ever with its interference. Having no preparation or resolution to resort to force, and being so badly off themselves that they cannot even enforce an economic blockade against Japan, the League Powers can only endeavour to vibrate the atmosphere of the world by attacking Japan verbally to stir up sentiment in Manchuria and China, so that Japan may be wearied from running to and fro from sheer economic exhaustion.

"As for Britain, she is the greatest sufferer from the self-determination movement; the independence of Manchukuo deprived her of more rights and interests than any one else. Britain planned to build a harbour at Hulutao and to rob Dairen of its prosperity by connecting Hulutao with the railway net of the Four Eastern Provinces in opposition to the South Manchuria Railway, but her plan has been completely frustrated by the passing of the railways in Manchukuo under direct Japanese management. Further, she has actually held in her hands the Peiping-Mukden line, but Japanese control has virtually deprived her of the whole line. The establishment of Manchukuo has also deprived her of part of her exceedingly valuable interest in China's

Maritime Customs by getting the Customs receipts in Manchukuo out of her control and she feels that all this is Japan's doing. If Japan were in Britain's position, national mass meetings would have been held for safeguarding rights and interests; that Britain does not openly show a hostile attitude is simply because France and Germany are involved in troubles and there is a Russian menace on the Indian border, and to risk the antipathy of Japan would only hurt her. While making leaps in the dark and pulling wires at the League of Nations and also in America, she pats the Japanese diplomats on the back and plays the amiable to them."

That is one of the members of the Staffs, the rulers of Japan to-day. From General Araki we hear that "even greater efforts must be made to perfect National Mobilisation, to invigorate the Spirit of Japan. All must disregard looking at immediate interests—the whole nation must combine." He regrets the increase in the number of the unfits and insists that "greater attention must be paid to the military training at schools." The Foreign Minister, once an ambassador in Europe, Count Uchida, breathes the same fiery spirit. He says: "The Government will not retract a step even if the country is faced with devastation."

It must be remembered that the whole nation is behind this movement. The Press is boosting it and their slogan is "the White races are all against us." There is very definitely a growing animosity towards all white foreigners, and to any one who has dealings with them. Even Mr. Sakamoto, who was the delegate for Japan at the International Labour Conference in Geneva, had to be guarded by the police against labour men, who intended to apply terrorist measures against him for venturing to have anything to do with the white men's labour talk. On May Day of this year, the workers marched round carrying banners inscribed "No More May Day." Almost every union, such as they are in Japan, visited the palace to make obeisance to the

Emperor, instead of talking and calling for better conditions, on the same day. They even subscribed to buy an aeroplane for the army. Every employment agency for the supply of servants to foreigners is run by ex-police who use their "clients" as spies. Every servant in a hotel patronised by foreigners is in direct contact with the police. Employers in white firms are induced to strike.

I say that the Staffs are the real power in Japan. I will go further and say that shortly they will assume that power openly, and the nation will be with them. Already the Staffs have done a thing which no Ministers have previously dared to do; they have broken contact with the Genro, whose word was the last before the Emperor's. They will make the Emperor a virtual prisoner, as his ancestors were before 1868. Kodo will become Imperial Communism. The stage is set and the actors are ready. They are prepared to face the world and, if necessary, destruction.

Their plans are all made, their army and navy were reorganised in 1930. They have armaments, arsenals, bases. In the frenzy of haste, and in the flight from things and people of the West, together with the decrease in the necessity for secrecy, many astonishing matters are happening. The mind of the nation is being whipped into hatred, ambition, cupidity and hope. They form a cauldron of patriotism. The masses sincerely believe that Japan must act or she will fall. Their minds are poisoned, and though they be guilty they are innocent.

The nation does not realise how corrupt are its statesmen. There is only one man who dares to protest. He is Mr. Ozaki. In April of this year he wrote an essay entitled "In Place of a Grave-post." In this, discussing the possibility of Mussolinism in Japan, he says: "When party politics have grown so degenerate and corrupt, it is inevitable that many people should come to desire to adopt a dictatorial regime on the Mussolini pattern in Italy. It will be well for our countrymen to consider in what plight the Italian

king is in Mussolini's regime. He exists only in name, just as the Imperial court in this country used to do under the rule of the Tokugawas. To appoint a dictator . . . will be nothing but a reversion to the old system of appointing the chief executive, the return to the clan government. . . . Our compatriots, while hating Stalin's autocracy like a serpent, seem to acclaim dictatorship with enthusiasm, forgetful that they are the same. . . . As for the corruption of party politics in this country the fault lies in the manner in which it is operated. . . . Malpractices have developed in connection with the working of the constitution; they are peculiar to this country." This dictatorship is a military one. General Araki is presumably the candidate. He holds powerful cards. He will have the capitalists of the world on his side against Russia. Actively or passively the Powers will render help as they did in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5. Already he holds the essential forces of the whole race, both political and economical, in his hands. Above all he has shown the nation a road along which it can march, united, to victory and conquest. His Kodo has moved the Japanese nation more than anything in its whole history. His system seems to the people to offer a "Divine Race Communism." It relieves the people of fear of insult from the stigma of shame. Through Kodo a Japanese cannot be thought a traitor to the conceptions of his holy ancestors, his Emperor, his Gods. Kodo, including in its object the formation of a National army, is, for the individual, the solution of many mental worries. Through it the Staffs will have an army in which every human in Japan will form a military unit. It will be an army of fanatical religious zealots, who believe they are fighting for their very existence.

CHAPTER XIII

THE LULL BEFORE THE STORM

DURING 1933 the Eastern front has been quiet in comparison with the previous eighteen months. Admittedly Japan carried out operations in China proper, but her main object was to convince China to take her punishment lying down. In the meantime the "Communism of the Gods," or Kodo, has been developed. Sudden tariffs by India, Egypt, China and Turkey considerably depressed the future economic outlook, and although Mr. Gandhi said in an interview that India would even welcome a sudden overwhelming swoop from Central Asia in preference to its present status, as *The Japan Chronicle* sweetly remarked that he "showed, for a saint, remarkable commercial insight when he declared that Indian industries needed much more protection against Japanese competition than against British." The Japanese Privy Council, whose ancient trumpets of war had been so long subdued, once again blared forth louder than ever before. In March they suggested that their Government should "help influential Chinese to unify that country." At the same meeting they declared that the "South Sea Islands must be retained, as they constitute the 'life-line' of national defence."

"Dangerous thoughts" again cropped up, and, in a leading article on the subject, *The Chronicle* says: "The Government attributes them to the economic depression and other social conditions. So it would seem that if we were rehabilitated economically we should get over the crisis of 'thought' by virtue of the improvement



(Photo Osaka Mainichi, 19-3-33)

GIRLS AT A TRAINING SCHOOL IN KOBE RECEIVING
ANTI AIRCRAFT TUITION



(Photo Osaka Mainichi, 19-3-33)

GIRL STUDENTS OF THE MINAMIUWA AGRICULTURAL SCHOOL AT
TARGET PRACTICE

in our conditions." The police were issued with instructions as to how to deal with the problem, and the principal points of the orders were : (1) Encouragement of the study of the history of Japan ; (2) security of living through handling the population problem ; (3) public confidence in politics to be increased ; and (4) close collaboration with the Press and writers to be sought.

All this was done to back up Kodo, to build the war mind of the nation. New groups and societies appeared. Reports for the increase of the regular army and of the navy were published. Registration of every Japanese male was completed. "A unification of 74 reactionary bodies has been accomplished by the Japanese National Defence League at the Toyama Public Hall, and the heads of the Staffs were there." 8-3-33. "Recruits are pouring into the army and navy." "The organisation of new units consisting in all of about 100,000 non-commissioned officers for special training in anti-gas warfare, the use of armoured cars and meteorological surveying and military surveying. An increase in the number of students at the Military College. . . . The provision of a junior aviation training corps. . . . The reorganisation of aviation regiments throughout the country. . . . The creation of nine aviation companies consisting of bombing and fighting planes. . . . The number of senior sergeants in active service will be increased. . . . The expansion of tank units, and the creation of a second tank unit in Narashino. . . . The establishment of a school for training in poison-gas warfare. . . . The training of military dogs at the Infantry School attached to the Kwantung Army.—Official War Office Programme, 22.8.33." "The great Kais, such as the Kokusui Kai, will be in Kaki and will have their own 'National Air Force' and 'National Car Corps' and other war utilities." Such are reports from the Japan vernacular Press during the year.

In "Manchukuo" the Mukden arsenal is working at high pressure. The steel works are combined into one

huge State-controlled company. "The iron merger will be under the direction of Admiral Godo."

Back in Japan the War Office is issuing a new publication called *The Power of the State*. It sets forth different aspects of the "Imperial Principle" and the Japanese Family System. The Minister of Education issued an order to all heads of school in the islands ordering them to read the Emperor's edict on the withdrawal of Japan from the League of Nations. The National Shinto Shrine is to be the centre of the nation's thoughts (after the Emperor, that is) and services are to be held there. The worship of the "Grand Shrine of Ise" is to be intensified throughout the whole nation, and even the Emperor and Empress attended a special festival on April 27th.

These are the essence of news from Japanese papers during the past few months. We read that there is to be mobilisation of about fifty munition factories "for common action in emergencies and a liaison committee between the factories." Even the Buddhists are raising funds for aeroplanes for presentation to the Staffs. The municipalities are Kodoised and are helping in the war spirit. They, too, are raising money. The Tokyo Corporation aim at 5,000,000 yen for installing "defence" planes and gas masks.

Osaka, the Manchester of Japan, is gripped with the fear of attack from the air, and has decided to camouflage its two reservoirs at a cost of 15,000,000 yen. And the Emperor has held a Grand Review of the Fleet in the waters of the South Seas. Even girls' schools have been placed under military care.

The naval base at Port Arthur is being reorganised and will be the home station for the Second Overseas Squadron, and a "little Japanese Admiralty" has been established in "Manchukuo." Numbers of ex-officers are being recalled and recommissioned. The whole of the communication system in Eastern Asia is in the hands of the Japanese. Japan is nearly ready. And the reasons: "The Japanese nation has a line of

Emperors unbroken for 2600 years. . . . Though all the other Asiatic nations have surrendered to the white men, Japan alone has remained independent and gained a glorious position. The nation thus has a great mission to do something for the benefit of the rest of the Oriental peoples. What then is the mission with which Japan is charged by Heaven? It is the rescue of 800,000,000 Asiatics from white men's slavery. . . . Our national leaders are well aware of this mission. . . . Nationalism is at its height. . . . Racial co-operation is becoming increasingly necessary. . . . British India, Persia and Siam are understood to be especially alive to realisation of this need. . . . It is difficult to tell how soon an opportunity may come for co-operation, but Japan will take the lead."

That is the Great Asia idea, the means by which Japan hopes to hoax the whole of the East. As regards her fleet and her naval fortifications, she has two complete lines of islands running southward from the end of Japan proper. The possession of these, quite apart from the three ex-German groups, give her a series of stepping-stones, bases, coaling stations, cutting through the heart of the ocean between Japan and Australia and New Zealand, and Japan and the United States. As regards the mandated territories, nothing has been done up to date despite the fact that she has left the League of Nations. The comments of *The Japan Chronicle* on this subject form the theme of a leader published on April 6th of this year. It reads: "Except for a suggestion from a German source that the possibility of a restoration of her colonies to Germany might well be considered at the present juncture, hardly a word has been said in the leading countries of the League of Nations concerning the propriety of Japan surrendering the mandated islands together with her membership of the League; it is rather surprising to find the question taken up (here) with so much heat. . . . Admiral Osumi described them as of great strategic value to Japan, the word 'life-line,' usually applied to

Manchuria, being used ; and we have since translated an article from *The Asahi* in which that usually balanced and moderate paper talks about holding on to the islands being even more of a point of honour than holding on to Manchuria, and declares that Japan will fight the whole world if necessary. . . . It is to be feared that the Japanese would not listen to any proposal that an international commission of enquiry should decide whether it was better for the natives that they should remain under Japan or be restored to Germany. . . . Though the terms of the mandate provided for an annual report, which may not mean very much, they also provided that there should be free trade and that there should be no fortification. The islands . . . are very seldom visited by foreign ships. It was stated that the last ship that put in was treated as though it were an enemy, so suspiciously was it watched and so closely were its objects enquired into. The naval declaration that whatever the rule might be and whatever the League might say, the islands must remain with Japan because of their strategic importance was unfortunate. Such a pronouncement aroused a suspicion of fortification that is rather difficult to allay. Fortification can hardly be confined to guns any more than contraband of war is confined to arms. Large expenditure last year caused some suspicion, and the explanation that it was for a pier was not generally received with any enthusiasm, since it seemed rather high compared with the value of the local trade. . . . The only contingency in which the occupation of the islands seems to have a possible importance is that of a war between Japan and America ; and if completely unfortified, they would not be very important then." Altogether Japan has spent over 250,000,000 yen on the islands, and she maintains buoys for marking special anchorage for large ships. They are administered by a military staff.

There are over a thousand islands included in the mandate. They are divided into three groups : the Caroline, Mariannes and Marshall. They are in such a



R NAGAI PROSELYTE OF ARAKI

position as to be the key of communication. They could be the base for holding back or attacking British Malaya, Hong Kong, the U.S. territory of the Hawaii Islands and the U.S. controlled Philippine groups. They stand between these foreign strongholds and Australia. They could stop all communication between these groups and the United States western coast. The Staffs have pronounced them as of the greatest "strategic value." Uchida, Foreign Minister, declared that if any opposition is put up by the Powers to Japan's retaining complete and permanent possession of the islands as the monopoly property of Japan, "then Japan would resist even if faced with devastation." The challenge is strong and fierce. It reveals the force behind it. He told his own compatriots that the State must "put down agitation of the weak-kneed advocates of Pacific diplomacy." In other words, let might be used rather than words. Under the heading of "Japan's Diplomacy" the Staff's determination to hold the mandated islands for ever is clearly shown. It reads: "The South Sea Islands are strategically important to Japan's national defence; they are a guarantee against American attack on the Far East. The Japanese Navy has been content with the 10-10-7 ratio of the Washington Naval Treaty, because they counted on the strategic value of the South Sea Islands. If therefore even one of these islands were taken away Japan would not feel secure. If some other State were to tie up her warships in those islands, Japan would have her sea power drastically cut.

"America has every reason not to want those islands to remain in the hands of the Japanese. We must concede nothing and at the same time prepare for the worst." *Japan Advertiser*, 13.4.33. And in reply to President Roosevelt's famous call for disarmament in May, the Japan delegate "hinted that Japan desired to increase her naval forces to parity with those of the United States and Great Britain."

On the fourth of April the Cabinet and Privy Council issued a proclamation informing the nation of its break

with the Western World, and added that her action would in no way affect her title to the islands. The islands are being put on a footing of war readiness. I declare that already they are in such a state as would enable Japan to put them into commission within the shortest possible time. Maybe there are few armaments on the islands, I do not know. But the positions are ready, the fortification is there, the harbours will take the largest ships in the Japanese navy.

Here is more sentiment from the Press: "It is because the Japanese people have always regarded the Islands as Japanese territory that they have not grudged enormous sums out of their coffers for them. The danger of war arises if the Powers attempt to do what the national sentiment of the Japanese people can never tolerate." And again: "If either the League of Nations or the former Allies should dare to attempt to take them by force, an armed struggle would surely ensue. Indeed, the national sentiment on this issue is hundreds of times stronger than on the question of Manchukuo."

Japan is very interested in Siam, and Siam is aware of this. She was the only nation not to vote against Japan on the Manchurian question. She remained neutral. Two of her princes are to be educated in Japan. As regards the Netherlands Indies, the Dutch authorities are taking no chances. Only recently Mr. Mendel touched upon this point in the Upper House at The Hague, and showed that Japan is taking a dangerous interest in the Dutch East Indies. He drew the attention of the House to Japan's need of oil for her warships, and also to her desire to open a settlement for Japanese in New Guinea. The Japanese were particularly happy to welcome Mr. Hatta to Japan on April 14th of this year. Hatta is the Gandhi of Java in the Dutch islands and a great exponent of Pan-Asiaism.

Many years ago it was assumed that Japan had her eye on Australia. For some reason this sentiment appears to have disappeared. In Japan it is stronger than ever. I have heard many conversations where the

conquest was considered to be one of the easiest matters for Japan when the time came. The mandated islands would make it simple for Japan. There is no doubt that Australia is included in her future plans. The climate would suit the Japanese. They have been insulted by Australia's legislation against all possibility of Asiatic intermixture with the white population. She hates the Australians for this but covets their country. The idea is vast, first, Manchukuo, next China, India, Australia including New Zealand, and Russia. That is the campaign of the Staffs. It will come sooner than it is expected, if, indeed, it is expected. Japan will not at once declare war, but she will slowly advance. Gradually she will assume control of China, and the latter will again ask for the help of the League, will suggest once more that they keep their word to her. It rests with the European Powers and America how far Japan will be allowed to go.

CHAPTER XIV

J'ACCUSE !

MY work is nearly done. I have called this book *The Menace of Japan*.

It is the result of fifteen years spent among all classes of life in the Islands of Yamato—the longest period of time that I have spent in any one country during the course of my life. From the time I can remember I have had a yearning to wander, a wanderlust, and I joined the English Navy when I was thirteen. In other words, I ran away to sea. Probably the education I received there was as good as if I had gone to some public school. At any rate I found that I had a gift for languages and seemed to pick up the tongue of any country I visited with the greatest ease. I served in South Africa, in the Somaliland Expedition and in the Persian Gulf. I resigned from the Navy in 1906 and with very little money set out to make my way in life. My first real job was at the Berlitz School in Copenhagen. My languages were my only asset. I learned what I could of the people and then again I moved. I taught English in St. Petersburg and learned Russian. I studied the history of music, of Russia, and of her people. I saw a mighty nation that was tottering, where the fault was difficult to place. It lay somewhere between the aristocrats and the masses, possibly in the bourgeoisie that separated the two classes and determinedly kept them apart. I moved again into Siberia, that vast area that had always held a fascination for me. I was private tutor to a noble family. I began to know something of the people. They were simple, hard working, easily satisfied. I doubt if, even now, they fully realise the

meaning of the Revolution. The nation as a whole interested me and for a time I lived in "Little Russia" with the farmers, learning their curious dialects. I was in Berlin. Later, in 1914, I returned to England, having spent some time in Switzerland repatriating English. The War sickened me. I was a cosmopolitan, I liked all the nations that were fighting. But patriotism got even me. I returned to England to do what I could. I was sent out to Belgium and later worked with a British Economic Mission in Russia. I was in Moscow during the Revolution. I stayed in Russia for a time and opened a business on my own. I have taught in the Senior Naval College in Turkey. I must confess to have found every nation I visited very likeable. Then I moved East.

My impressions of Japan were hazy. Lotus Flowers and Cherry Blossoms. A gentle energetic people, simple, painstaking, yet terribly efficient. Exquisite women ; Arabian Night Stories ; dwarfed trees ; delicate pictures of flowers and insects that seemed to live. A modern fairyland. That was what I expected. I had already met Japanese in the West. I had seen the women treated almost like queens by their menfolk. I had realised their delightful manners. And I went to Japan intending to stay there possibly twelve months—at the most two years. I wanted to see China, to learn whether "Fu Manchu" was in any way representative, even in the smallest degree. I wanted to learn something of the civilisation of thousands of years.

I intended to stay, as I say, some eighteen months. I remained there fifteen years. I made occasional visits to Europe and America during that time, just to see if my mind was becoming warped, to make sure that I was not growing fanatical in my views, to be certain that all I had seen had not turned my brain. I wanted to be certain that I was still able to judge matters in a cold, sober manner, for I had learned a lot in that period between my arrival and my first leave. I found that I was wrong in all my conceptions, or nearly wrong.

I found the women were truly exquisite, that the Western impression of Japan was based on the picture of those women, and gradually I learned that this impression was all part of a deliberate idea. The women were sent to Europe with their husbands, were treated perfectly in Europe and in America with the deliberate idea of fascinating the people of the West. Every sentiment of the European was played upon with a definite colossal object. It was part of a vast plan of propaganda. I found the men of Japan ruthless, cruel, lustful and treacherous. I found them corrupt and bestial. I learned the meaning of Shinto, Neo-Shinto, and now Kodo. I gradually became aware of some power behind the country that did not emanate from the Diet or the Emperor. I was in the position, through my status at Keio University, of meeting people in high places. I was helped to a certain extent by my marriage into a Japanese aristocratic family. For fourteen years I have been collecting evidence for this book. There is not a single matter of any major importance that I have included for which I have no documentation. I have said before that people will laugh at me. I am prepared for this. I know I am right. Japan will slowly carry out her plans as I have indicated. She will first subjugate the East, unless the Powers step in.

It will be no open warfare immediately. It will be a repetition of Manchuria. Already she has signed a treaty with China for a nominal peace. I accuse her of signing this treaty, armistice, cease-fire call, with the sole purpose of furthering her plans. Next she will be signing, openly and secretly, rights, concessions, special privileges, with different lords of the Chinese provinces. She will, probably by force, prevent the Kuomintang Army of the South, which is the Nationalist Party, from moving into the northern parts of China. She will claim that her sole object is for the maintenance of peace or the protection of her nationals. But the real reason will be her fear of the patriotic fever that the party inspires.

I accuse her of signing these rights for the sole purpose

of manufacturing some pretence for the resumption of hostilities when the time is ripe. She knows that many Chinese will still boycott her goods, her people. She will then once more move her troops into that particular area. I accuse her of deliberately fermenting trouble in China, with the one view of conquest. I accuse her of bribery throughout the Republic, of helping bandits. I say that she will introduce Koreans wherever she can, and the Wanpaoshan Affair will be repeated. I accuse her of sending her consular police to stir up trouble with the Chinese. I accuse her of having more armaments at the moment than any treaty or agreement allows her. I say that she has, to all intents and purposes, fortified the mandated islands.

I say the word of Japan is worthless, that only when and until it suits her does she abide by any treaty or pact. Did not the Chief of the Naval Staff, at the London Conference period, declare that " he had never consented to the treaty since the outset " ? I accuse the Staffs of deliberately misleading the masses, of whipping them into a patriotic fervour, of instilling a hatred of the white races, solely as a means to an end.

And I accuse the Powers of breaking their word with China, of failing to observe the promises they made as members of the League of Nations. I accuse the statesmen of the West of deliberately shutting their eyes to the menace of Japan. I say that they realise fully that it may mean war. But this possibility must be faced. I call upon the Powers to face the situation, to take some means for ensuring peace by threatening Japan, and if necessary by exhibiting force. Unless this exhibition is made in the near future, so near that it must be done during the present year, there will some time be a greater war than that of 1914-1918. It will be fought on Asiatic soil, where supplies, communications must be brought over thousands of miles.

I accuse Japan of working at top speed towards a war. I say that her Staffs are prepared to sacrifice the whole nation. General Araki is calling for war, every word he

utters has a bellicose, arrogant tone. In May he stated in the Diet : " Woe to those who oppose our arms." " We declare to the world that we are a militaristic nation." " Fill every shot with Kodo." " Kill without quarter ! " " Fight the anti-Kodo Powers." " Show the spirit of Japan and Asia against Europe and America."

These are all from his book on Kodo published this year, or from his latest speeches. Araki is, to-day, the Power in Japan. I say that JAPAN WANTS WAR.

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